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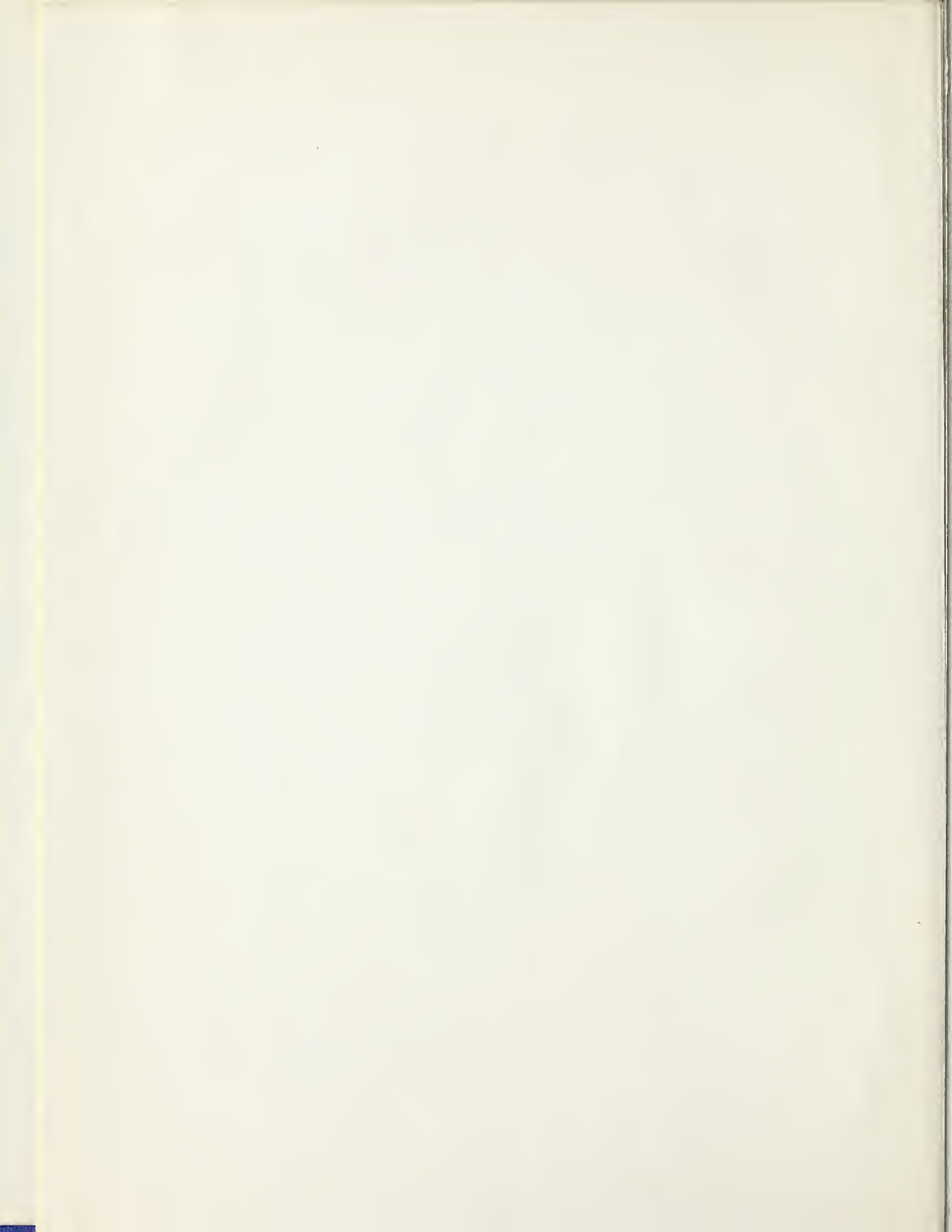




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THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TO

THE BATTLE OF MALDON

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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OF MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

In this study I propose to show that despite the fact that The Battle of Maldon is composed near the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, when the Christian culture is well-established and the interest in the old heroic subjects has waned, the poem expresses more articulately than any other poem extant the Northern heroic concepts and ideals. This is not to deny the presence and influence of Christianity in the poem but to argue, as I will, that there is a blending of the two cultures, a combination which makes it possible for Christian men to live up to the heroic code. My intention then is to discover why and how the poet was able, at such a late date, to shape an historical event into a heroic poem in which he returns to and works out the fundamental heroic concepts as they were originally formulated.

In order to establish this it will be necessary to study the literary and historical background to the poem. This will entail a brief consideration of the historical basis of heroic life and an analysis of representative pieces of the major forms in the tradition. Consequently, I will consider such pre-Christian heroic poems as the Hildebrandeslied and the Finnsburg Fragment, where we have direct parallels in the heroic situation; the elegies to ascertain more precisely, by comparison, what is involved in the heroic mode and see the influence of Christian ideas; and finally the Christian heroic poetry to see how the ideals of comitatus are preserved in the tradition and how necessary they are to the heroic form.

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ERRATA

- iv.9. for "BOARD" read "80AR".
- 5.17. for "exist," read "exist;".
- 6.16. for "it was" read " they were".
- 14.16. for "Krafttalen" read "Krafttaten".
- 14.20. for "Skoplauscht" read "Skop lauscht".
- 17.3. for "gang" read "ganz".
- 20.16. for "cud faela" read "cud; faela".
- 21.12. for "donne" read "donne".
- 22.13. for "wig" read "Wig".
- 22.17. for "ne pa" read "ne pa".
- 23.27. for "'by by" read "but by".
- 27.28. for "8eowulf" read "8eowulf".
- 29.12. for "8eowulf's other speech" read "8eowulf's speech".
- 32.2. for "elgiac" read "elegiac".
- 34.2. for "self evident" read "self-evident".
- 38.30. for "bedan" read "bidan".
- 40.22. for "onmidlan" read "onmedlan".
- 43.29. for " germormode" read "geormormode".
- 52.9. for "leodweard, Laera" read "leodweard laera".
- 52.22. for "rining" read "cyning".
- 54.26. for "kingsman" read "kinsman".
- 56.8. for "feon" read "feond".
- 57.21. for "service that" read "service, that".
- 66.26. for "gehwyle" read "gehwylc".



- 69.8. for "ahand" read "a hand".
- 70.23. for "Huppe" read "Huppé".
- 73.21. for "almight" read "almighty".
- 74.2. for "O Lord our" read "O Lord, our".
- 76.1. for "so called" read "so-called".
- 81.9. for "coronicle" read "chronicle".
- 82.14. for "the battle and some" read "the battle, and some".
- 83.22. for "here" read "mere".
- 84.6. for "Byrhtnoth whose" read "Byrhtnoth, whose".
- 86.20. for "full scale" read "full-scale".
- 87.2. for "ofermod" read "ofermod".
- 91.2. for "elevation but" read "elevation, but".
- 91.10. for "Mu" read "Nu".
- 91.21. for "oft quoted" read "oft-quoted".
- 93.23. for "conbimation" read "combination".
- 93.23. for "preceeding" read "preceding".
- 93.24. for "shown, that although" read "shown that, although".
- 93.25. for "antithetical this" read "antithetical, this".
- 97.35. for "preceeds" read "precedes".
- 100.18. for "Extremeunction" read "Extreme Unction".
- 104. Add after the entry on Bloomfield: Bone, Gavin. Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

COMITATUS HISTORICALLY

Anyone who has been exposed to Anglo-Saxon poetry soon becomes aware of its unique character when placing it in the context of the whole body of English literature. The characters, actions and social conditions which it portrays are quite foreign to the modern reader. It reflects a society which indeed must have been very different from our own, and one is struck by the obvious parallel between the poetic world of the Anglo-Saxons and the historic world described by Tacitus in the Germania.¹ The Germania, written at the turn of the first century, is, as it professes to be, a study of the character, customs and geography of the Germanic peoples north of the Roman Empire and provides us with a brief yet clear and reliable description.

For our purposes we are primarily interested in the account that Tacitus gives of the military nucleus on which the social organization was based and the rigid code that went along with it. This nucleus as it emerges from the pages of the Germania is basically very simple. Briefly, it consists of groups of warriors called companions drawn from and representing the various districts and villages occupied by the tribe. The companions are bound by ties of loyalty to the chief who heads the group, and the chiefs in turn owe allegiance to the king. The king however, is not the head of state that he later becomes, when he has absolute power and control; his function is really very much like

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1914

that of a chief of a group of companions, that is, of a comitatus, and in addition he is the visible head of the tribe. He is merely the highest leader among the various chiefs, having been elected by the Council for his noble birth.² The actual legislative power lies with the Council, an assembly consisting of all the able-bodied men, including both the leaders and the companions. Apart from this legislative power, which resides in the assembly as a whole, the group with its leader is virtually an autonomous body governing the district from whence they come.

In the passage concerning the function of the Council and the nature of punishment we find the first specific reference to the comitatus, when Tacitus states:

In the same Councils are elected the chiefs, who dispense Justice through the country districts and villages. Each of them is attended by a hundred companions, drawn from the commons, both to advise him and add weight to his decisions.³

A few passages earlier he points out that the chiefs are elected not for their birth but for their valour, and that they win special admiration not by their authority, but by their example; "their energy, their distinction, or their presence in the van of fight."⁴ The companions are selected for similar reasons, that is, for their prowess in battle. These facts alone point to where the emphasis lies in early Germanic society.

Commenting on the structure and the function of the group Tacitus goes on to say:

This order of companions has even its different grades, as determined by the leader, and there is intense rivalry among the companions for the first place by the chief, among the chiefs for the most numerous and enthusiastic companions. Dignity and power alike consist in being continually attended by a corps of chosen youths. This gives you consideration in peace-time and security in war. Nor is it only in a man's

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the
general principles of the theory of the structure of the
crystal lattice. It is shown that the structure of the
crystal lattice is determined by the arrangement of the
atoms in space. The arrangement of the atoms is
determined by the forces of attraction and repulsion
between them. The forces of attraction are due to the
electrostatic interaction between the positive and
negative ions. The forces of repulsion are due to the
overlap of the electron shells of the atoms.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the
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own nation that he can win fame by the superior number and quality of his companions, but in neighbouring states as well. Chiefs are courted by embassies and complimented by gifts, and they often virtually decide wars by the mere weight of their reputation.⁵

Above all, this observation shows how central and important this comitatus structure is in the Germanic heroic world, not only as a force within one's own borders, but also in relationships with neighbouring people. There is no question of allegiance to, or identification with, a larger national body; the group is the focus of life for the heroic individual. There would not be the 'intense rivalry' among the companions or the chiefs, as described above, if the comitatus were not of the highest importance. More importantly, we can immediately see the profound effect that comitatus society has on certain individuals. It naturally gives rise to a number of outstanding figures in the form of chieftains. By its very nature this warlike society allows certain individuals, who have the necessary talents, to rise to eminence in the heroic world -- in fact, it produces them. Add to this the fact that in a warlike society the brave warrior is naturally an ideal image and we have arrived at the historical origin of the heroes who dominate the pages of Germanic heroic literature. As we have already seen, the necessary talents were not the qualities of general leadership and authority which we look for in a modern leader, but the chiefs' courageous example in battle. They stood out from the rest of men because they were more valorous, more capable, and more persevering; in short, they were heroic to a higher degree than anyone else. It is not surprising that Tacitus, used as he must have been to seeing the might and power of Roman legions, allows a note of admiration to creep into his comments.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It highlights the need for a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter and the role of the researcher in this process. The second part of the paper presents the methodology used in the study, including the data collection methods and the analysis techniques. The third part of the paper discusses the results of the study and the conclusions drawn from the findings. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the future research directions. The fifth part of the paper discusses the limitations of the study and the strengths of the research. The sixth part of the paper discusses the contributions of the study to the field of research. The seventh part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments of the researcher. The eighth part of the paper discusses the references of the study. The ninth part of the paper discusses the appendices of the study. The tenth part of the paper discusses the index of the study.

Tacitus is equally impressed with the code of behaviour which forms an integral part of the comitatus structure. His graphic description of the essential elements of the code bear out his admiration, when he says:

On the field of battle it is a disgrace to the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions, to the companions not to come up to the valour of their chief. As for leaving the battle alive after your chief has fallen, that means lifelong infamy and shame. To defend and protect him, to put down one's own acts of heroism to his credit - that is what they really mean by 'allegiance'. The chiefs fight for victory, the companions for their chief.⁶

The naked severity of this code is self-evident, but so is the overpowering ideal of the heroic spirit which lies behind it. Again we notice the primary importance of the chief; he is the focal point of the group. Heroic deeds, as well as failures to live up to the ideal, are measured in terms of his ability. The unflinching allegiance of the companions to their chief is the bond that binds the group together. In return for their service and loyalty the chief bestows gifts on his companions, either weapons, treasure, or lands, and, as Tacitus says, "The companions are prodigal in their demands on the generosity of their chiefs. It is always "give me that warhorse" or "give me that bloody and victorious spear."⁷

Of necessity weapons and horses play a dominant role in social relationships and rank in the comitatus structure and in heroic society in general. In a number of places Tacitus observes them and the significance placed upon them. Among other things, "No business, public or private, is transacted except in arms,"⁸ and in the general assemblies, "No form of approval can carry more honour than praise expressed by arms."⁹ Again the symbol of manhood is the possession of weapons. When the time of initiation comes, "one of the chiefs, or the

father or a kinsman equips the young warrior with shield and spear in the public council. This with the Germans is the equivalent of our toga -- the first public distinction of youth. They cease to rank merely as members of the household and are now members of the state."¹⁰ Finally in the matter of gifts, "The chief takes peculiar pleasure in gifts from neighbouring states, such as sent not only by individuals, but by the community as well -- choice horses, splendid arms, metal discs and collars" (italics mine).¹¹

The kind of society which emerges from the comments of Tacitus is an unstable society based on a military nucleus, the comitatus, which is, of necessity predominantly male in its orientation. Women at best play a secondary role, usually that of peacemaker (or peace-offering) or mead-server. The world we see here is a world in which the need of defending what is one's own is of primary importance. Moreover, it is a world which itself perpetuates war, because violence and war are the only means by which a chief can maintain a body of companions. The comitatus needs war to exist, the openhandedness of the chief toward his followers "must have war and plunder to feed it."¹² Because war is such a major preoccupation the emphasis lies on physical strength and endurance, courage, prowess in battle, and unflinching allegiance to one's chosen leader. It is a society geared for war, where weapons necessarily take on great importance, and where the tilling of the soil is secondary and "left to the women, old men and weaklings of the family."¹³

It is precisely this kind of society, with its robust life and severe code, that we find presented in the Anglo-Saxon poems of the early tradition; that is, those poems which lie squarely in the pagan rather than the Christian tradition. Yet even in the poetry of the

later tradition, including the religious poetry, we find many echoes of this kind of life, showing the continued influence of the former culture and the concepts peculiar to it. If we study the literature we find that apart from minor details the comitatus is basically the same. We have essentially the same structure, with the bond between leader and companions which goes deeper on either side than the material benefits, the same function and principles of operation, the same code, and the same ideals. The comitatus concept is, in fact, one of the common characteristics of Northern heroic literature; Beowulf, Finnsburg, Waldere, all the Eddic poetry, the Northern sagas, and the heroic tales extant in Germany all have some of the outstanding characteristics of the comitatus as an informing principle. It is one of the qualities which enables us to define the literature as heroic.

This is not to suggest however that the works of Northern heroic literature are historic documents which can conclusively prove anything about the period during which it was written. All literature is historic in the more general sense that indirectly it reveals to us the spirit of the time, the thought of the period, and the broad outlines of those things in life which are familiar to the audience. After all, an author, whether primitive or sophisticated, does not write in a vacuum but reflects the age in which he lives. There must, consequently, be a historical validity to the world portrayed in Anglo-Saxon poetry; it must reflect a reality which the Anglo-Saxons understood.

The evidence of Tacitus, though tempting in being such a close parallel, is in itself not sufficient to prove that some three hundred years later the descendants of the people whom Tacitus described lived a life very similar to that of their forebears. There is more contempo-

rary evidence however, which, when properly sifted by historians, shows that the comitatus concept as expressed in the literature was not an artificial concept, a mere product of the fancy, but rather a poetic image based on a fact of life, at least of the kind of life lived during what is aptly called the Heroic Age.

The Heroic Age in England, as in the rest of North-western Europe, was the Age of Migrations, and was characterized by the wholesale upheaval of peoples and tribes. This was the period during which the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes invaded England and settled there. It was a period of general instability and upheaval marked by many features conducive to the development and extension of the comitatus. When we turn to the works of historians concerned with the beginnings of English society, we find that in their analysis and evaluation of the Anglo-Saxon conquest they are in agreement on what to us are the central issues. They are quite clear in pointing out that the settlement of England took the form of numerous independent raids and invasions which were led by various independent leaders. During this period which lasted for 150 years there was no central authority in England powerful enough to maintain overall rule. Instead we find records of numerous kingdoms, and of kings which hardly strike one as strong autocratic rulers. In his assessment of the character of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, R. H. Hodgkin speaks for many when he says that:

there seems to be no firm evidence to support the conjecture that the invaders operated together for any length of time as one conquering host, like the later Great Army of the Vikings. . . .Stubbs and Green were surely right in their assumption that the invaders normally operated in small groups. . . .The invaders must have trickled into the island in groups of adventurers rather than have flowed in with a tribal flood tide. The cemeteries suggest that throughout the fifth century such bands as had obtained a foothold on our shores were small, and that except in Kent it was not until the sixth century that they increased

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and multiplied and coalesced until they formed some of the petty kingdoms which emerge into history in the chapters of Bede. This word 'coalesced' better than any other gives us the clue to the story of the invasion. The separate bands of the invaders were much scattered and rarely kept in touch with one another. They scored by the number of their aggressions, by their ubiquity, rather than by the shock of massed attack.¹⁴

This description lacks detail to be sure, but neither Stenton¹⁵ nor Blair,¹⁶ nor Whitelock,¹⁷ nor anyone else for that matter could provide a more accurate report, because the period of the Anglo-Saxon invasions is much like a blank page in the history of England due to the dearth of evidence. Yet we have enough information to determine that the conditions prerequisite to a comitatus social structure prevailed in England during this period. H. M. Chadwick in his work The Heroic Age discusses the causes and conditions antecedent to a heroic state, and he summarizes his argument briefly when he says:

. . . in regard to social organization the outstanding feature . . . was the weakening of the ties of kindred and the growth of the bond of allegiance. In political organization the chief feature . . . was the development of an irresponsible type of kingship resting on the military prestige, the formation of kingdoms with no national basis and the growth of relations between one kingdom and another.¹⁸

And we can go further than this. Hodgkin, in his chapter headed "General Character of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest" for example, although he is far from subscribing to the theory that the Anglo-Saxons in England lived a life which conformed completely to that of their forebears, comes to the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxons brought along with them three Germanic ways of doing things, "three principles on which society was built";¹⁹ namely, the comitatus, the free nation, and kinship. Hodgkin uses the term comitatus in the restricted sense in which Tacitus uses it of "order of companions," not in the larger sense of the way of thinking and acting associated with the companion-troops.²⁰ By the

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is not only a scientific one, but also a philosophical one. The scientific aspect of the problem is concerned with the question of how life arose from non-life. The philosophical aspect is concerned with the question of whether life is a necessary part of the universe or whether it is a mere accident.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. These theories are divided into two main classes: the theory of spontaneous generation and the theory of biogenesis. The theory of spontaneous generation is the older of the two and is based on the idea that life can arise from non-life. The theory of biogenesis is the newer of the two and is based on the idea that life can only arise from life. The paper shows that the theory of spontaneous generation is based on a number of assumptions which are not supported by the facts. The theory of biogenesis, on the other hand, is based on a number of assumptions which are supported by the facts.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various experiments which have been conducted in order to test the theory of spontaneous generation. These experiments are divided into two main classes: the experiments of Redi and the experiments of Pasteur. Redi's experiments were conducted in 1668 and showed that life does not arise from non-life. Pasteur's experiments were conducted in 1861 and showed that life can only arise from life. The paper shows that the experiments of Redi and Pasteur are in complete agreement with the theory of biogenesis.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various theories of the origin of the first life. These theories are divided into two main classes: the theory of abiogenesis and the theory of panspermia. The theory of abiogenesis is the older of the two and is based on the idea that the first life arose from non-life. The theory of panspermia is the newer of the two and is based on the idea that the first life arose from life elsewhere in the universe. The paper shows that the theory of abiogenesis is based on a number of assumptions which are not supported by the facts. The theory of panspermia, on the other hand, is based on a number of assumptions which are supported by the facts.

principle of the free nation he means that "the king could be no autocrat. Of necessity he must always gain the willing cooperation of his warriors,"²¹ and when discussing kinship he is clearly aware of what Chadwick said about the weakening of these ties and the deepening significance of the bond of allegiance.

From the above it would seem to be a reasonable conclusion to say that the particular social order which prevailed in England during the Anglo-Saxon invasions was one which conformed in the main to the one described in the Germania by Tacitus, and one that lasted as a unique form of social organization until about 700 A. D. when it faded into feudalism. Feudalism itself continued to reflect in its structure, on a larger and less personal scale, many of the characteristics of the older system out of which it had developed. The comitatus was replaced by feudalism because the conditions which had given rise to it had given way to newer and different ones. In feudal times we no longer find the instability of numerous tribes in constant warfare with one another. The number of petty chieftains has become comparatively smaller with control over larger areas centralized in fewer and more powerful hands. Those local leaders who remain are considerably less powerful than their ancestors had been. Consequently, war, when it occurs (as it frequently does), is conducted on a larger scale, not among individual tribes so much as among emerging nations. Feudalism, bearing the seeds of nationalism, superimposes a much larger, more autocratic and less personal structure on a loosely knit, flexible and ever changing conglomerate of individual tribes. The nature of war itself has changed. The numerous local battles motivated by love, revenge, personal bravery and in every case by the thirst for glory and fame, have been superseded by wars

motivated by national causes and political expediency. In feudal times, when significantly enough we have the first appearance of the mercenary soldier, the loyalties of the warriors went to the larger body of the state or kingdom, or to the highest bidder, while in the heroic society the loyalties went to the family and the tribe at first and later to the leader of the group. The group headed by the leader was the basic social unit. To the heroic individual it was an absolutely necessary framework of reference. Only in belonging to it did he have any purpose. The group was the only social and political unit with which he could identify. Within its pale he had an identity; outside of it he was nothing.

It is obvious from the foregoing that the comitatus was much more than a social and political institution arbitrarily accepted as a workable form of government. It developed out of the hard necessity of historical conditions, and furthermore gave rise to a unique code of behaviour. Its sphere of influence was not restricted to the social and political areas but went beyond into every aspect of heroic life. The objective purpose of the group suppressed the individual's subjective thoughts and feelings, sublimated them if you like, and resulted in a philosophy of life in which the group and the ideals it fostered were the dominant ideals. It is in this sense that I will use the term comitatus for the remainder of this study, not in the restricted sense of Tacitus and Hodgkin but in the broader sense of pertaining to everything associated with northern heroic life.²²

In view of the centrality of the comitatus in northern heroic society, it is not surprising that it is the informing principle of nearly all the heroic literature which it produced, and that it contin-

ued to be a profound influence on the literature long after heroic society as such had faded into feudal society.

COMITATUS IN HEROIC POETRY

The oldest and only surviving piece of pure heroic literature in German, Das Hildebrandeslied,¹ is a good illustration, in a tradition parallel to that of the Anglo-Saxons, of what the heroic concept of life means. Unfortunately we have only a sixty-eight line fragment of this poem; and the text is corrupt in several places.² We have enough however to reconstruct the incident which is the subject of the lay, and to ascertain that adherence to the comitatus code leads to the heroic and tragic action.

The fragment tells how father and son, Hildebrand and Hadubrand, after some thirty years of separation come face to face while fighting for opposing armies. Typically, the tale is told partly by the poet, speaking in the first person, and partly by means of the exchange of speeches between father and son. The poet says that he heard a story about an encounter between Hildebrand and Hadubrand. In the speeches preliminary to the battle Hildebrand discovers that he faces his own son and makes a sincere offer of friendship. Hadubrand, though he understands the older man's gesture, is assailed by doubt, accuses his opponent of deceit and asserts that his father is dead. Hildebrand in anguish is faced with the dilemma of being slain by his own son unless he becomes his son's bane. Yet he cannot refuse and they begin to fight, in the middle of which the fragment breaks off.

Various theories have been put forward suggesting conclusions that the poet might have intended. Nearly all of the arguments are based on the evidence of analogues or stories which have a parallel subject-matter. Some scholars have even gone outside the Germanic tradition into Persian, Greek, and Latin poetry. The value of this approach is clearly questionable, except insofar as it is a comparison of different traditions. We cannot ultimately determine what the poet of the Hildebrandeslied had in mind.³ The only thing we can say with any certainty about the conclusion, as Bostock points out, is that "the artistic purpose of the poem demanded a tragic ending, the death either of the father or of the son or of both."⁴ Which of these three alternatives was the poet's choice we cannot say, but this hardly matters for the purpose of this discussion, because it would not alter our evaluation and assessment of the lay as we have it. What matters here are the circumstances which bring about what is clearly a tragic confrontation.

The story told in this ancient lay speaks for itself; its heroic quality is unquestionable. Apart from such obvious details as the use of well-worn epic formulas, including Ik qihorta dat seggen and Hadubrand gimahalta, -- Hiltibrantes sunu, and the usual references to war gear and ancestry, all of which are part and parcel of the standard form and description in a heroic situation, the confrontation itself and the nature of the conflict place the lay, as will be shown, squarely in the heroic tradition.

In the first place we have the young and eager warrior challenging the older widely renowned retainer of Theodoric to a single combat. Both are probably the chosen champions of their respective armies and consequently the contest is automatically understood to be a fight to

the death:

Ik gihorta dat seggen
 dat sih urhettun aenon muotin,
 Hildibrant enti Hadubrant, untar herium tuem.
 (ll. 1-3)

Furthermore it chances that the two opponents are father and son, Sunufatarungo. So now in addition to the element of comitatus loyalty which is implied as a matter of course, there is the other equally strong and even sacred bond of kinship opposing it: therein lies the tragedy. It results in a conflict between father and son, which for Hildebrand, and probably also for Hadubrand, is a conflict between spiritual or moral values and the dictates of honour or duty. As such it is central to this lay as it is to such other Germanic heroic songs which are as Baesecke observes, like the Hildebrandeslied:

. . . die einzigartig emporgezüchtete Form des germanischen Heldenliedes, die aber ihrem Inhalt entspricht: es handelt sich nicht um Übernatürliche Krafttaten und Wunderdinge, sondern um seelische, sittliche Bewährungen im Widerstreit höchster Ehrgebote oder Pflichten, etwa der Sippe und Gefolgschaft; auch nicht um Abspiegelungen von Wirklichkeiten, sondern um Erfreuen, Erbauen, Erschüttern der Gefolgsmannen-Gemeinschaft, die da in der Halle des Fürsten dem Skoplauscht, um Erheben in die kriegerische Wunschwelt hochgesinnter Vorfahren, nicht nur des eigenen Stammes.⁵

Normally the principles of the comitatus code and of kinship would go hand in hand, but in this presentation the poet has artistically contrived to bring them into conflict, a dramatization designed to illuminate and test the values involved.

In Hadubrand's first reply to Hildebrand we are told that thirty years earlier Hildebrand was forced to choose between his lord, a banished man, and his wife and child. At that time he remained true to his lord and forsook his family. Now, facing his son, he must again make a choice; he is forced to choose between his lord, to whom he is

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the laws of quantum mechanics are determined by the laws of the special theory of relativity. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the application of the theory of the structure of the atom to the study of the properties of matter. It is shown that the theory of the structure of the atom can be used to study the properties of matter in a very general way, and that the properties of matter can be studied in a very general way by the theory of the structure of the atom.

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bound by loyalty, and his son, to whom he is bound by blood. There is never any real question in Hildebrand's mind as to whether or not he should remain loyal to his lord; he comes out prepared to fight and in the end he does accept the challenge,

Der si doh nu argosto (quad Hiltibrant) ostarliuto,
der dir nu wiges warne, nu dih es so wel lustit,
(11. 58-9)

but he is also unwilling to fight to the death with his own son and must avoid killing him. This reluctance is initially shown after Hadubrand's reply to his question about ancestry when he immediately attempts to reveal his identity to his son and makes a sincere offer of friendship:

"W[et]tu irmingot" (quad Hildibrand) "obana ab
heuane,
dat du neo dana halt mit sus sippan man
dinc ni gileitlos . . . "
Want her do ar arme wuntane bouga
cheisuringa gitan, so imo se der chuning gap,
Huneo truhtin. "Dat ih dir it nu bi huldi gibu."
(11. 30-35)

But Hadubrand will not recognize his father, nor will he accept the latter's sincere offer of friendship symbolized by Hildebrand's gift of rings, which in the comitatus context represents externally the pledge of loyalty.

Hadubrand understands the implication of Hildebrand's statement and gesture well enough, as I think his answer shows, but he is assailed by doubts when he looks at the alter Hun confronting him and he replies with an emphatic and sarcastic taunt. The tone and nature of this further challenge are well within the heroic convention, but his comment that "Dat sagetun mi seolidante/westar ubar Wentilseo, dat inan wic furnam" (11. 42-43), which differs significantly from "Ni waniu ik iu lib habbe . . .," strikes one as a groping for external evidence, while

the final line of his speech "Tot is Hiltibrant, Heribrantes suno (l. 44), seems to have a note of desperation. The emphatic quality itself seems to suggest a willful and desperate attempt to shut out any possibility other than that Hildebrand is dead. To have to recognize his father in his opponent is too much to accept for Hadubrand.

Having been cruelly rebuffed by his opponent, Hildebrand accepts the evil fate that has come upon him, but not, it would seem, without further provocation, because even after Hadubrand's initial rejection of his offer there is still a noticeable reluctance on the part of Hildebrand. The unwillingness is poignantly reflected in his anguished outcry, "Welaga nu, waltant got . . . wewurt skihit" (l. 49), and in the remainder of that speech when he ponders the terrible choice of killing or alternatively being killed by his own son and ends on what curiously enough seems to be the hope that Hadubrand might win.⁶ In addition there is the bitterness contained in the earlier lines:

"Wela gesihu ih in dinem hrustin,
dat du habes heme herron goten,
dat du no bi desemo riche reccheo ni wurti,"
(ll. 46-48)

and the phrase argosto in the last speech which suggest that further provocation has been given, enough for Hildebrand to enter into battle.

Baesecke in his analysis of the Hildebrandeslied presents a convincing argument that the occurrence of three successive speeches labelled as being Hildebrand's which are not interwoven with continuing speeches or replies by Hadubrand suggest gaps in what is already a fragment.⁷ For evidence he points out, among other things, that the quoth-formulas appearing at ll. 30, 49 and 58, which identify Hildebrand as the speaker and are later emendations, indicate an awareness of the

gaps on the part of the copyist. Baesecke comments:

Ein solches, und gar doppeltes Unterbrechen von Rede und Widerrede ist in den gang auf sie gestellten zweiseitigen Heldenliedern unerhört.⁸

He concludes therefore that three speeches by Hadubrand are missing and goes on to infer that the term arga must have been used by Hadubrand somewhere between Hildebrand's second and third unanswered speeches, that is the gap between ll. 57 and 58, since Hildebrand picks it up in l. 58 when he says, Der si doh nu argosto . . . ostarliuto (l. 58).⁹

Baesecke points out on good evidence, citing an edict of Rothari, a king of the Langobards (date 643 A. D.), that this is an ultimate insult.¹⁰

So that now in addition to the other motives which would provoke Hildebrand to battle there is the additional reflection on his personal honour to which the only reply in the heroic context is battle.

Hadubrand's possible and, in light of Baesecke's argument, probable use of the insult is consistent with his initial stinging rebuttal which I have already described as a willful and desperate attempt to deny that his opponent could be his father. Hadubrand clearly is in as precarious a position as Hildebrand; he is not just a cocky boy or the traditional villain figure who brings about evil. On the contrary, he too is faced with a dilemma which is essentially the same as Hildebrand's. Being the younger of the two combatants and facing a widely renowned warrior, the onus is on him to defeat the opponent, win glory and triumph for his tribe and his lord. It is imperative that he show no hesitation or doubt, and hence he is driven by circumstances to deny Hildebrand's claim to fatherhood, because he cannot chance that it is a lure to take him off his guard. Baesecke's question suggests the problem by implication:

Aber wie weit ist die eigene Verantwortlichkeit der beiden gelähmt durch die Situation zwischen zwei Heeren, vor den tausend Augen derer, die sie zum Kampfe aussandten? Oder ist diese Situation vergessen?¹¹

They are between two armies and there is no way to corroborate Hildebrand's claim; Hadubrand must ascertain the truth on the spot, as it were. Consequently, he tries to provoke Hildebrand into showing some demonstrable proof. In desperation he tests the other man's faith and throws out the one challenge that his father cannot overlook since it strikes him as a deliberate and unforgivable insult. The cruel provocation exonerates Hildebrand, at least publicly, from breaking the bond of kin, and he now prepares to fight his son:

niuse de motti,
[h]werdar sih hiutu dero hregilo rumen muotti,
erdo desero brunnono bedero uualtan.
(11. 60b-62)

This leaves, of course, the theoretical alternative of flight, but in the heroic context this would incur both personal shame and public guilt: personal shame, because any warrior, particularly one of Hildebrand's stature, "Chud was her chonnem mannum" (l. 28) is expected to accept any challenge, and public guilt because in refusing to fight he would in effect betray his lord.

In the Finnsburg Fragment¹² we have the earliest evidence in the Anglo-Saxon literary tradition of the existence and *modus operandi* of the *comitatus* concept. This poem, like the Hildebrandeslied, is a fragment, a very short one of not quite fifty lines. These fifty lines describe in vivid and dramatic terms an apparently treacherous attack, under the cover of night, on a thinly defended hall. It deals with a single scene from a battle, a battle which is also the subject of an episode in Beowulf. In Beowulf the story is told at greater length and

The first of these is the fact that the
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The twelfth of these is the fact that the
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The thirteenth of these is the fact that the
 system is not a simple one, and that it is not a simple one.

in more detail and varies significantly on several points from the Finnsburg Fragment version. It is quite clear in fact that we have two different poems, but equally clear that they share the same subject and treat it from a heroic point of view.

Briefly the story told in the fragment is as follows. Hnaef, a heapo-geong king, discovers that a surprise attack is being launched upon his hall. He rouses his sleeping warriors and exhorts them to be courageous and resolute. Sigferth and Eaha station themselves at one door, and Ordlaf, Guthlaf and Hengest at the other. Then our attention is focussed on the attackers one of whom, Guthere, tries to restrain the younger Garulf from leading the attack and thus exposing his life. Garulf, however, disregarding the advice, leads the advance and the battle is on. He is the first to fall. The fight goes on for five days and the lay ends with the folces hyrde, Finn, Hnaef's opponent, asking one of the wounded and retreating warriors what their losses are.

As in the Hildebrandeslied we are left without a conclusion. Using the analogue of the Finnsburg Episode in Beowulf one could with some satisfaction speculate about the general outcome, but for our purposes here we need not go beyond the lay as it stands. The situation before us is quite clear; we have the heroic defence of a hall by a handful of men -- only five are named besides the young king -- against an opposing force considerably larger -- the poet speaks of sixtig sige-beorna. This kind of confrontation is a predominant theme in heroic poetry; it can be summed up as the defence of a narrow place against impossible odds.

The initial readiness to enter into battle is itself indicative of the spirit which moves the defenders. It shows among other things an

unquestioned loyalty to the young king, Hnaef, and an acceptance of whatever consequences may ensue. When the young king, having been alerted to the coming attack, rouses his men, the poet tells us in a minimum of well-chosen words that they prepare quickly and station themselves at various strategic points. This handful of men, undoubtedly aware of their precarious positions, asks no questions; there is no time wasted in consultation as to what the "best" manner of dealing with the situation before them is. The "best" to them is to fight. And more importantly there is not even the suggestion of the possibility of flight. The very briefness and simplicity of the description shows the coolness and readiness with which these drihtlice cempa react to their leader's exhortation. Sigeferth's speech, his proud reply to Garulf's challenge, expresses the unyielding courage of all of them and gives voice to their heroic spirit:

"Sigferþ is min nama," cwæð he, "ic eom Secgena leod,
wreccea wide cweð Faela ic weana gebad
heardra hilda, ðe is gyt her witod,
swa eþer ðu sylf to me secean wylle."

(Finnsburg Fragment, ll. 24-27)

The attitude on the part of the attackers is equally heroic; like Hnaef's men the followers of Finn are aware of their possible death and are prepared to die in battle. The possibility of death is implicitly acknowledged in Guthere's advice to Garulf:

Ða gyt Garulf Gudere styrde,
ðæt he swa freolic feorh forman siþe
to ðære healle durum hyrsta ne bæere,
nu hyt nipa heard anyman wolde.

(Finnsburg Fragment, ll. 18-21)

Garulf's action and challenge, in spite of this warning, speak for themselves; it is a total commitment to battle and the heroic code which inspires him:

ac he fraegn ofer eal undeardinga,
 deormod haelep, hwa ða duru heolde.
 (Finnsburg Fragment, ll. 22-23)

In this battle we see the comitatus principles in action, particularly on the side of the hard-pressed defenders; Hnaef's men stand together. The fight goes on for five days without a casualty on their side, an incredible feat proving their heroic resistance and perseverance. The poet's admiration and awe is obvious when he states:

Ne gefraegn ic naefre wurplicor aet wera hilde
 sixtig sigebeorna sel gebaeran,
 ne naefre swetne medo sel forgyldan,
 donne Hnaefe guldan his haegstealdas.
 (Finnsburg Fragment, ll. 37-40)

In the two poems cited above we have relatively clear-cut illustrations of the function of the comitatus principle in heroic situations. In the Finnsburg Episode in Beowulf however, though it is firmly rooted in the heroic tradition, we encounter an apparent difficulty in a departure from what we have thus far assumed to be the norm. In the paraphrase of the lay, recited by Hrothgar's scop, the Beowulf poet tells us that, unable to bring the battle to a conclusive end, Finn offers terms to Hengest which the latter accepts; a truce is established which as both B. Dickins¹³ and W. W. Lawrence¹⁴ point out goes directly against the strict code of the comitatus. At least two principles are violated here. In the first place, Hnaef having been slain by the Frisians, his retainers should fight on and avenge the death of their leader even if this meant the certain death of all, because it is a disgrace to survive his death unless he is fully avenged. Secondly, by accepting Finn's terms, Hengest and his followers tacitly recognize Finn as overlord, and he is not only an enemy, but, at least technically, the slayer of Hnaef: hira beaggyfan banan. To acknowledge him as their

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RESEARCH REPORT

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protector is a flagrant violation of the heroic code. It is not surprising therefore that the poet spends some twenty-five lines to explain the circumstances surrounding the truce and the conditions of the truce itself -- his audience would certainly expect it, and the heroic context demands it. What we have before us is a dramatic presentation of a conflict between the obligations of the heroic code and the facts of human life. This theme of conflict, a moral dilemma if you like, is a recurrent one in northern heroic literature,¹⁵ and the instance we have of it here is not unlike the agonizing predicament of Hildebrand who must choose between his lord and his son.

Finn's forces have been decimated to the point where he is in no position to continue the fight and bring it to a definitive end:

wig ealle fornam
 Finnes þegnas, nemne feaum anum,
 þæt he ne mehte on þaem meðelstede
 wig Hengeste wiht gefeohtan
 ne þa wealafe wige forþringan
 þeodnes ðegne.

(Beowulf, ll. 1080b-1080a)

The Danes, it is understood, a small party to begin with, cannot conquer the Frisians, particularly now that their leader has been slain. A stalemate has been reached in the fighting. They have fought so long -- five days according to the Fragment -- that they could fight no more. They cannot return home because winter has fallen upon them and the seas are frozen:

þeah þe he ne meahte on mere drifan
 hringedstefnan; holm storme weol,
 won wið winde, winter ype beleac
 isgebinde.

(Beowulf, ll. 1130-1133a)

Yet they must have shelter and food. At this point Finn offers terms to the Danes, a proposition which is itself perhaps testimony to his astute

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system (1) has solutions for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β if and only if the conditions (2) are satisfied. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are unique and depend continuously on the parameters α and β . The third part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are unique and depend continuously on the parameters α and β .

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assessment of the impasse which has been reached. There is no alternative for them, the situation is forced upon them, þa him swa geþearfod waes (l. 1103b). It is what Lawrence has aptly described as "an irreconcilable conflict between human endurance and the ethics of a rigid code."¹⁶

There is perhaps one more consideration which enters into Hengest's decision to accept the truce. It is in fact impossible to avenge Hnaef, not only because an impasse has been reached, but more importantly because Finn is not present at the battle, and it is Finn who must be slain since he is ultimately responsible for the death of Hnaef.¹⁷ From this point of view the acceptance of the terms would become a tactical move on the part of Hengest, a means of providing an opportunity for revenge.

Although the situation before us is a rather extraordinary one in its departure from the norm, it does not in the least destroy the argument being advanced. The comitatus principles underlie the action; it is because these warriors, both the Danes and the Frisians, acknowledge and live by the heroic code that the dramatic conflict results and that the truce is extremely tense and desperately tenuous. Outside the comitatus context the truce would have been a relatively undramatic and practical conclusion to a hard battle which has come to a stalemate and would perhaps have produced a sense of defeat and waste, but also one of relief. It certainly would not have given rise to the serious misgivings which haunt both parties here.

The generous terms offered by Finn are a frail attempt to stabilize an unbalanced condition, to quench a thirst which cannot be satisfied by revenge. The terms, which are fundamentally comitatus

concepts: the hall, the high seat, the equal rights and the equal sharing in treasure, ironically recall instantly the obligations that the Danes have and the principles of the code which they have violated.

Finn is acutely aware, as are undoubtedly the rest of the Frisians, that the truce is only a temporary expedient in a situation fraught with tragic possibilities. This is why he explicitly provides for such harsh measures and severe reprisals should anyone of his own troop dare allude to the fact that the Danes had sworn allegiance to the slayer of their leader:

paet ðaer aenig mon
wordum ne worcum waere ne braece,
ne þurh inwitsearo aefre gemaenden,
ðeah hie hira beag-gyfan banan folgedan
deodenlease, þa him swa geþearfod waes;
gyf þonne Frysna hwylc frecnan spraece
ðaes morþor-hetes myndgiend waere,
þonne hit sweordes ecg syððan scolde.
(Beowulf, ll. 1099b-1106)

Hengest for his part abides by the conditions of the truce for the time being but broods over the dismal fate of himself and his companions:

Hengest ða gyt
waelfagne winter wunode mid Finne
elne unhlitme.
(Beowulf, ll. 1127b-1129a)

Unhappily he bides the passing of winter and when spring comes and it is possible for the Danes to return home his mind dwells on revenge and battle rather than on the sea journey:

he to gyrn-wraece
swidor þohte, þonne to saelade,
gif he torn-gemot þurhteon mihte,
paet he Eotena bearn inne gemunde.
(Beowulf, ll. 1138b-1141)

Egged on by Oslaf and Guthlaf, Hengest ne forwyrnde woroldraedenne (l. 1142), and instigates another battle in which Finn and his men are

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and varied history, and that the study of its development is of great interest to scholars. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.

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slain. In so doing, Hengest in fact violates the oath he swore to Finn, but his allegiance to Hnaef is a far more meaningful and sacred commitment. Though the oath was ostensibly of the most solemn and binding character it was one forced by external circumstance, while his allegiance to Hnaef, which comes first inasmuch as the heroic code of honour cannot be gainsaid,¹⁸ was based on a deep personal bond strengthened by years of service and companionship in peace as well as in war. Just how deep and vital a bond this allegiance to one's freely chosen leader is, is repeatedly shown in the Beowulf story proper, in which the Finnsburg Episode is but an incident. The evidence here indicates that the allegiance is a personal bond, that it has a more vital basis than a merely formal economic and social relationship.

Certainly one of the most outstanding and also one of the most attractive characteristics of Beowulf is his loyalty to Hygelac, a loyalty which in its formulation expresses the ideal comitatus concept. The most striking instance of this occurs when he is offered the hand of the queen and the throne, and he refuses. Hygelac has been slain in a raid on the Frisian territory of the Merovingean Franks, and Beowulf returns home with the booty of war after he has avenged Hygelac's death by slaying Daghraefn, the champion of the Hugas, and after he has made a hazardous journey across the sea. The widowed Hygd herself makes the offer, but Beowulf cannot accept it over Hygelac's son, Heardred. He only agrees to be regent while the latter is still a minor, and not until Heardred is slain in the Swedish wars does Beowulf accept kingship. But even after he has been king for fifty years, the memory of his allegiance to Hygelac remains foremost in his mind. It is one of the things that comes into his mind immediately before the fatal

encounter with the dragon:

Ic him þa mæðmas, ðe he me sealde,
geald aet gude, swa me gifede waes,
leohtan sweorde; he me land forgeaf,
eard, eðelwyn. Naes him ænig þearf
þaet he to Gifðum oððe to Gar-Denum
oððe in Swiorice secean þurfe
wyrðan wigfreca, weorde gecypan.
Symle ic him on feðan beforan wolde,
ana on orde, and swa to aldre sceall
saece fremman, þenden þis sweord þolad,
þaet mec aer and sið oft gelaeste.
(Beowulf, ll. 2490-2500)

Beowulf in this speech enumerates the usual comitatus benefits of lands, treasures, and dwelling place and the less tangible yet more significant gift of belonging and having a leader. The tone of satisfaction at years of loyal service is plainly in evidence and reaches a high point in the almost clumsy understatement in which he legitimately boasts that Hygelac had no need to look further afield for warriors more accomplished than he.

Apart from briefly referring to isolated examples, such as this speech of Beowulf, I do not think that a general discussion of Beowulf can legitimately be included here. The central elements of the Beowulf story lie outside the general scope of this discussion, because, even though they are dealt with in a heroic context, they are superhuman. The encounters with the monsters, for example, and even such feats as swimming back across the Baltic Sea carrying thirty suits of armor, go beyond what can be expected or demanded of mere men. The comitatus concept is, consequently, irrelevant and unworkable: at the crucial moments the troops desert or fail to assist the hero, who himself is clearly something more than an ordinary man. Only at one point does one of his retainers stand by him. This occurs at the end when Wiglaf

stands and fights with his chief in the final encounter with the dragon, while the rest of the companions hang back. Wiglaf is well aware that his assistance can only be minimal in this confrontation, but comitatus loyalty drives him to the side of Beowulf anyway. His loyalty finds expression in his speeches, both in the one before the fight, when he reminds the other men of their duty, and again after the fight when he reproaches them severely for having broken their allegiance. In the first of these he enumerates the various and generous gifts that Beowulf has made and he reminds the men of their promise to repay all in war. He ends with a deeper and more personal sentiment:

Nu is se daeg cumen
 þaet ure mandryhten maegenes behofað,
 godra gūðrinca; wutun gongan to,
 helpa hildfruman, þenden hyt sy,
 gledegeſa grim. God wat on mec
 þaet me is micle leofre þaet minne lichaman
 mid minne goldgyfan gled faðmie.
 (Beowulf, ll. 2646b-2652)

urum ſceal ſweord ond helm,
 byrne ond beađuſcrud, þam geſaene.
 (Beowulf, ll. 2659b-2660)

His indictment of the retainers in the second of these speeches is summed up in that final line of his speech, a line which also expresses tersely the whole heroic spirit:

Deað bið ſella
 eorla gehwylcum þonne edwitlif!
 (Beowulf, ll. 2890b-2891)

What we see taking place in this final section of Beowulf is the working out of a structural theme. Beowulf having served Hygelac faithfully and having ruled the kingdom by something akin to supernatural powers, is finally vanquished by the powers of evil and chaos represented by the dragon. Having no offspring himself he chooses

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system has solutions for all values of the parameters α and β if the function $f(x)$ is continuous and has a bounded derivative. The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system of equations (1) are unique and depend continuously on the parameters α and β . The third part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the solutions of the system of equations (1) are unique and depend continuously on the parameters α and β .



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Wiglaf, who is the last survivor of his race, the Waegmundings, to be the new leader. Beowulf explicitly passes over the leadership to the young Wiglaf. Among other things he hands over his armour to Wiglaf in a symbolic gesture; has him take care of his last wishes, and tells him:

Nu ic on maðma hord mine bebohte
frode feorhlege, fremmod gena
leoda pearfe.

(Beowulf, ll. 2799-2801a)

With the great hero dead and Wiglaf as the new leader the normal cosmos of the comitatus can be restored.

To return momentarily to the speech of Beowulf quoted earlier (ll. 2490-2500), the reader may have noticed that although it gives adequate testimony to the spirit of allegiance and is therefore heroic, a note unlike any to be found in the previous examples has crept in here. It is a note which is characteristic of the final section of Beowulf and largely the result of perspective. Beowulf in his speech before his fatal encounter is looking back on his illustrious career as retainer to Hygelac, with rightful satisfaction. In the previous pieces we looked at we saw men acting by the comitatus principles. Here we have a memory of something good that has been, and by implication there is a note of nostalgia, an awareness that everything in life is transient. It is a faint echo, and a happier one, of the same note we hear earlier when Beowulf speaks of Hrethel's sorrow at the loss of his oldest son Herebeald. Herebeald was accidentally killed by his younger brother Haethcyn, and hence the old man sorrows deeply, particularly because it is a loss which cannot be ransomed or revenged. Beowulf compares Hrethel's case to that of the Gothic king Ermanaric who saw his son hang from the gallows:

Gesyhð sorncearig on his suna bure
winsele westne, windge reste
reote berofene. Ridend swefað,
haeled in hoedman; nis þær hearpan sweg,
gomen in geardum, swylce ðær iu waeron.
(Beowulf, ll. 2455-2459)

The thrust of this passage lies in the bleak images, the sense of desolation, and the deathlike quality. It describes the total absence of the concrete externals of comitatus life and hence by implication the absence of that life itself. Behind these lines lies the poignant query, "What has happened to the good things which were once here?" Like Beowulf's other speech (ll. 2490-2500) it looks back at what has been, but here there is no satisfaction, and whereas there was only a hint of nostalgia before, here it is pronounced and results in pathos and even anguish. These lines give voice to an acute assessment of the transient quality of life.

We have moved here from the heroic to the elegiac perspective; from the presence of comitatus life and action to the absence of it, a shifting of point of view not uncommon in Beowulf, inasmuch as it partakes of both the heroic and elegiac. As the presence of comitatus in action is the informing principle in the heroic mode, represented by such poems as we have thus far looked at, so its absence is the informing principle in the elegiac mode, represented by such poems as The Ruin, The Wanderer and The Seafarer.

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530 SOUTH EAST ASIAN AVENUE
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Dear Sirs:

I am writing to you regarding the recent developments in the field of quantum chemistry. The progress made in the last few years has been remarkable, and it is exciting to see how these advances are being applied to solve real-world problems. I believe that the work done by your group in this area is particularly noteworthy, and I would like to discuss it further.

I am currently working on a project that involves the development of new computational methods for the calculation of molecular properties. This project is part of a larger effort to improve our understanding of the chemical processes that occur in the atmosphere and in the environment. I am interested in learning more about the work you are doing in this area, and I would like to know if there are any opportunities for collaboration.

I am also interested in the recent developments in the field of quantum chemistry, and I would like to know if there are any opportunities for me to learn more about this work. I am currently a graduate student at the University of Chicago, and I am looking for a research advisor for my thesis.

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon, and I am sure that we will be able to find a way to work together on this important project.

Sincerely,
[Signature]

III

COMITATUS IN ELEGIAC POETRY

The clearest and simplest presentation of the elegiac mood is to be found in The Ruin, a poem of some forty-five lines. The text of this poem is corrupt, and consequently the meaning of certain words and phrases is obscure. It is a poem of formal description -- and as such the oldest of its kind in Anglo-Saxon -- portraying a ruined and deserted city. It is a city quite unlike any that our Anglo-Saxon poet would have known, consisting of large stone buildings (stanhofu, l. 38; enta geweorc l. 2), and therefore a Roman city. The poet contrasts the former splendour it must have had with its present dilapidated condition, a contrast which gives rise to the characteristically elegiac ubi sunt theme. The Ruin demonstrates how immediate the elements of the comitatus are to the Anglo-Saxon poet, and how the elegy consists mainly in the contemplation of their absence. Faced with a ruined city representative of a foreign culture, the poet reconstructs a life and society in unmistakeable comitatus terms:

Beorht waeron burgraeced, burnsele monige,
heah horngestreon, heresweg micel,
meodoheall monig [mon]dreama full,
. . .

paer iu beorn monig
glaedmod and goldbeorht gleoma gefraetwed,
wlonc and wingal wighyrstum scan;
seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searogimmas,
on ead, on aeht, on eorcanstan,
on pas beorhtan burg bradan rices.

(ll. 21-37)

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The poet speaks of the tumult of men, the mead hall, the joys of men, the bright warrior and the treasure. His catalogue of the things that have been recall the whole centre of comitatus life. The boasting and drinking, the spoils gained from war and the heroic deeds implied, all this is brought together in the mead hall which is the living centre of the comitatus. The poet has projected the only form of life with which he is familiar onto this ruined burg. And the power which has brought all this to an end, the supreme force to which everyone and everything is subject is Fate. Fate is responsible for what happened to the one-time inhabitants,

Eoredgrap hafad
waldend wyrhtan forweorone, geleorene,
heard gripe hrusan,

(11. 6b-8a)

and to everything that was. Wyrd seo swiþe (l. 25b), destroys all and leaves nothing.

From this brief analysis of The Ruin we can see how the burden of melancholy found occasionally in Beowulf has become the dominant theme and subject of a separate poem.¹ The same mood characterizes such poems as The Wanderer and The Seafarer. These poems taken together constitute a separate genre and form a fitting complement to heroic poetry. As a separate genre they are unique to the Anglo-Saxon tradition because nowhere else do we find the alternative to the heroic mode that we find here. The songs of lamentation in the Germanic and Icelandic tradition such as the Guthrunarkvida and Guthrun's Lament are not an adequate parallel -- they compare more favourably with the Anglo-Saxon The Wife's Lament -- because they are more personal and do not depend for their total effect upon the absence of the comitatus, as the

Anglo-Saxon elegies do.

Since the elegiac mode is characterized by the absence of comitatus as opposed to the heroic mode in which its presence is fundamental, the most moving elegiac statement occurs when a man finds himself outside this context; in this position he becomes most acutely aware of all that comitatus means. When the hero committed to comitatus principles becomes cut off from the group, when he has no place in the social milieu and cannot perform a vital function as part of a community which transcends his individuality, he is left in a most vulnerable position because he has no means to identify himself. In other words, he lacks the resources of ordinary individualism and is literally cast adrift in life and the world. In this situation he becomes acutely aware of the transience of life, "a perpetual human theme peculiar to no civilization, age or culture."² The response to this recognition varies even within the Anglo-Saxon tradition. In The Ruin we see the assertion that Fate the mighty has overturned all, but beginning with The Wanderer, where fate is still acknowledged to be the cause of disruption except for one ambiguous reference,³ there is nevertheless a hint that perhaps there is an alternative to a world wasted in the grip of wyrd in the form of a heavenly comitatus. This idea is developed further in The Seafarer and comes to full flowering in The Dream of the Rood where The Wanderer's question "Where are they now?" is answered by the affirmation that they live in Heaven with the King of Glory.

But I am getting ahead of myself. Let me turn to a consideration of The Wanderer as an elegiac statement by one exiled from his troop. The subject of the poem is the desolation of a man who has lost his lord, his friends and his home, and his consequent broodings on the

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and varied history, and that the study of its development is of great interest to scholars. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, such as the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.



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hail, snow, frost, storm and ice, versus these material and social pleasures is self evident. Winter is the normal season for the exile. His loneliness and personal desolation are vividly reflected in the desolation of the winter landscape and the bitterness of an icebound sea, and contrast sharply with the warmth, security and comfort of the happier life he has known. But although the wanderer's longings concentrate heavily on the externals of comitatus life as the quotation indicates, they are representative of a deeper and more significant social and personal relationship:

þinceð him on mōde þaet he his mōndryhten
 clyppe ond cysse, ond on cneo lecge
 honda and heafod, swa he hwilum aer
 in geardagum giefstolas breac.

(ll. 41-44)

The intimacy of the embrace and the laying of hands and head in the lord's lap show the profound personal quality of this allegiance. It is much more than a mutually advantageous bond between master and servant, chief and warrior. But this bond of loyalty is now only a memory because the lord is dead, a loss which has resulted in the loss of everything else. Without a lord there can be no troop, and without allegiance one cannot belong; both are of the essence of the comitatus. The alternative is what we have before us, at best a searching for a new lord and at worst the incomplete existence of life as an exile. In either case the mind turns in upon itself, broods about past and present and begins to reflect upon the meaning and value of life. Within the comitatus context of communal life and action such introspection is precluded. Here the mind turns outward because a man has a place and a function, both vital to the group, and hence his existence has meaning. And we must go even further: life has meaning because a man can be

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem. It is shown that the problem is of great importance in the theory of the structure of the atom. The second part is devoted to a detailed analysis of the results of the experiments of Rutherford and his colleagues. It is shown that the results of these experiments are in good agreement with the theory of the structure of the atom proposed by Rutherford.



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heroic. Heroism, totally dependent upon comitatus as previously defined, is crucial to Teutonic man. In the Nordic conception of life where an absolute end, Ragnarok, is inevitable, the one sustaining support for the human spirit, the one pure unsullied good men can hope to attain is heroism. But this kind of heroism with a vital social dimension is impossible in the exile's position; the very circumstances of his existence prevent him from doing what is crucial to his "salvation," as it were. Therefore, in the face of his crumbling world, the exile is driven to construct a philosophy of life which does not depend on comitatus, one which will enable him to stand alone, and hence one which is essentially a form of individual heroism. This kind of heroism, stoical resignation, is virtually what is defined in the beginning of the poem:

"Ic to soþe wat
 þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw,
 þæt he his ferdlocan faeste binde,
 healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille.
 Ne maeg werig mod wyrde wiðstandan,
 ne se hreo hyge helpe gefremman.
 (ll. 11b-16)

The fact that the wanderer is apparently unable to follow his own advice shows how hazardous and precarious the exile's situation is. In the end he recognizes life on earth as being transient:

"Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rice,
 onwended wyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum.
 Her bið feoh laene, her bið freond laene,
 her bið mon laene, her bið maeg laene,
 eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð!"
 (ll. 106-110)

Wyrd becomes the dominant concept in the wanderer's view. The immediate cause which forces the wanderer into exile is not precisely explained, except that we are told the lord is dead, but the ultimate

cause is implied in the concept of wyrd. In fact, the influence of wyrd is not limited to the exile only but extends to everyone and everything in life as the quotation clearly shows.

But yet the attitude expressed here is not entirely unambiguous. Although the poem is fundamentally pagan in spirit in its pre-occupation with wyrd, and the wanderer gets little further in his own case than asking the question "Where has everything gone?", he ends on a decidedly Christian note:

Wel bið þam þe him are seced,
 frofre to faeder on heofonum, þær us eal seo
 faestnung stondeð.
 (ll. 114b-115)

These lines suggest that perhaps there is an alternative to the world wasted in the grip of wyrd found in ll. 106-107, -- security with the Father in heaven. The poem opens with the comment that the solitary man often prays for mercy even though he must for the present endure the hardships of exile. Such he seems to say is the way of the world; wyrd bið ful araed; and the last of his admonitions is:

Ongietan sceal gleaw haele hu gaestlic bið,
 þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð,
 (ll. 73-74)

as if to suggest that there is something which has lasting value for which it is worthwhile to wait and suffer. All this amounts perhaps to little more than a hint, but it sets up the gist of an opposition which is developed more explicitly in The Seafarer, where we find a tentative formulation of the concept of a heavenly comitatus, an abiding hereafter as opposed to a transient and crumbling world.

The Seafarer is a more problematic poem than The Wanderer not only because of the Christian content but also because of a constant

ambiguity. Two conflicting points of view are presented. On the one hand there is love and desire for life on the seas, while on the other there is hate and fear. This duality has given rise to a number of interpretations which conceive of a dialogue structure in which an old seaman tells of the miseries of a seafaring life, and whose every objection is answered by an enthusiastic youth who has an irrepressible longing for the sea.⁴ There is however no agreement among these interpretations as to who says what, and W. W. Lawrence proved conclusively that, although the dialogue theory resolved the ambiguity, its fundamental assumption was incorrect, by pointing out that the word forþon does not have to be understood in an adversative sense, but can serve as a loose connective.⁵ Other structural theories have been advanced as well, some equally as ingenious as the dialogue theory, but Lawrence's textual analysis disproves these as effectively. His argument is essentially a defense for the structural homogeneity of both The Wanderer and The Seafarer and serves as a warning to those who are over-eager to make structural dissections. His conclusion that "there seems to be no reason to assume that the Wanderer and the Seafarer are not preserved in essentially their original form, with the exception of the homiletic addition (i.e. ll. 102-124) to the latter poem,"⁶ has received general acceptance. Nor is there any reason to assume as Legouis does that "Such ambiguity is enough to prove that this short poem is imperfect in form."⁷ Surely the ambiguity may have been intentional. Simply because we cannot resolve it to our satisfaction in terms of modern criticism is hardly an adequate reason to assume multiple authorship or imperfection of form. "The fact that an Anglo-Saxon poem does not fulfill modern expectations with regard to structural unity and co-

1880. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Mayor of the City of New York, since the year 1800, in the order in which they were elected.

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herence, is no argument for the diversity of origin of its several parts."⁸

The physical situation in The Seafarer is quite simple. Like the wanderer, the seafarer is physically removed from the comitatus, but the situation is less desperate because he is an exile more or less by choice. That is to say, as far as we know, external circumstances beyond his control have not conspired to remove him from the communal life as they have in the case of the wanderer. Nevertheless, the psychological and spiritual break is just as real. Being removed from the communal life, he too is thrown back on his individual resources, and they too prove inadequate in the end. He initially derives spiritual sustenance from his fascination for the sea, but this is set off by his equally great anxiety for this kind of life. Lamenting the hardships of his present life, he too remembers the comfort and security of comitatus and recalls its various pleasures:

dyde ic me to gomene ganetes hleopor
and huilpan sweg fore hleahtor wera,
maew singende fore medodrince.
(11. 20-22)

Ne biþ him to hearpan hyge ne to hringþege,
ne to wife wyn ne to worulde hyht.
(11. 44-45)

The juxtaposition of specific objects representative of each kind of existence drives home the difference with force. But the memories are more than a recall of happier things. His ambivalent feeling gives rise to a contempt for the luxuries of the land and those who enjoy them:

For þon him gelyfed lyt, se þe ah lifes wyn
gebidum in burgum, bealosipa hwon,
wlonc ond wingal, hu ic werig oft
in brimlade bedan sceolde.
(11. 27-30)

On the one hand he fears the sea and longs for that prosperous life on land, but on the other he is strangely fascinated by the sea and freely rejects the prosperous life. At times there is a bitterness in his brooding producing a corresponding and almost perverse pride in his lonely existence, almost as if the seafarer indulges in self-pity and derives masochistic pleasure from it.

It is important to note that the lonely existence of the seafaring life is associated with the desolation of winter, the exile's normal world, while the yearning for the sea is reflected in the imagery of spring. Reality is harsh, and the seafarer acknowledges it implicitly:

paet se mon ne wat
 þe him on foldan faegrost limped,
 hu ic earmcearig iscealdne sae
 winter wunade wraeccan lastum,
 winemaegum bidroren,
 bihongen hrimgicelum; haegl scurum fleag.
 þær ic ne gehyrde butan hlimman sae,
 iscealdne waeg. Hwylum ylfete song.

(11. 12b-19)

. . .

Stormas þær stanclifu beotan, þær him stearn oncwaed
 isig-fepera.

(11. 23-24a)

This sombre and violent picture of northern seas during winter, in which suffering from cold mingles with the pain of water and wind, is powerful in its contrast with the security of comitatus life, the laughter of men, the drinking of mead, the receiving of treasure and the protection of a lord. But the mood changes swiftly; almost with disdain the seafarer turns away from these pleasures when spring brings back the yearning for the sea:

Bearwas blostmum nimæð, byrig faegriæð,
 wongas wlitigiæð, woruld onetted
 Ealle þa gemoniæð modes fusne

sefan to side, þam þe swa þenceð
on flodwegas feor gewitan.

(11. 48-52)

The fascination which the sea holds for the restless heart of the seafarer, despite his keen awareness of the hardships, is expressed in a strange and beautiful image which describes his spirit wandering far over the face of the earth while his heart is restless in his breast. But his spirit comes back again unsatisfied -- ever unsatisfied in this world he seems to say! When and where it will be satisfied becomes clear in the section of the poem which follows.

The point of view changes in the second half of the poem; the seafarer turns from a pre-occupation with his own situation to a consideration of life and the world in general, and the dominant thought here is the transience of everything in this world:

Ic gelyfe no
þæt him eorðwelan ece stondað.
Simle þreora sum þinga gehwylce,
aer his tid aga, to tweon weorþeð;
aðl oppe ylðo oppe ecghete
faegum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð.

(11. 66b-71)

Dagas sind gewitene,
ealle onmidlan eorþan rices;
naeron nu cyningas ne caseras
ne goldgiefan swylce iu waeron,
þonne hi maest mid him maerþa gefremedon
ond on dryhtlicestum dome lifdon.
Gedroren is þeos duguð eal, dreamas sind gewitene.

(11. 80b-86)

Blaed is gehnaeged,
eorþan indryhto ealðað and searað
swa nu monna gehwylc geond middangeard.

(11. 88b-90)

The sentiment and spirit of these passages is purely elegiac and it is the absence of the comitatus that makes them elegiac. Everything that stands for and is central to the comitatus, the rulers, the warriors,

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

From the first settlement of the
English in 1630 to the present time
the city of Boston has been the seat of
the most important and interesting
events in the history of the
American people. It has been the
center of the Puritan movement,
the birthplace of the American
Revolution, and the scene of the
most important events in the
history of the United States.



The map is a detailed representation of the city of Boston, showing the harbor, the city proper, and the surrounding areas. It includes the names of the various islands and peninsulas, as well as the names of the streets and the locations of the various churches and public buildings. The map is oriented with North at the top.

the glory and the heroic deeds, is gone forever. Illness or age or warlike hostility, agents of an arbitrary and indifferent fate, have decimated all. Though we cannot be certain when it comes, the implication is that the end comes inevitably. Yet this is not all: there is an added dimension here which we do not find in The Ruin, where we have nevertheless a similar conception of the world.

The elegiac passages in The Seafarer quoted above are set in context with a number of explicitly Christian allusions. In this second half of the poem, beginning at l. 64, Christian elements are as dominant as pagan. The opening line of this section indicates a shift in perspective:

Forþon me hatran sind
dryhtnes dreamas þonne þis deade lif,
laene on londe.

(ll. 64b-66a)

The crumbling world of the comitatus is set in opposition to a different world, a world of lasting values. What this new world precisely is becomes clearer a few lines further:

Forþon þæt bið eorla gewham aeftercwependra
lof lifgendra lastworda betst,
þæt he gewyrce, aer he on weg scyle,
fremum on foldan wið feonda nīþ,
deorum daedum deofle togeanes,
þæt hine aelda bearn aefters hergen,
ond his lof sibban lifge mid englum
awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blaed,
dream mid duguþum.

(ll. 72-80a)

Though conventional comitatus vocabulary is used in this passage, we now see a heavenly comitatus, dream mid duguþum, and this troop is one made up of angels. It is interesting to note that the poet still speaks of glory in terms of glory among men after one's death, but now there is a heavenly reward as well. The curious combination here of pagan and

Christian ideas is not a contradiction as such but a blending together of two separate cultures. Christian hope and a promise of lasting joy has appropriately come to the exile whose pagan world has collapsed. He must face this transitory life with the same stoicism defined in The Wanderer (ll. 11c-16), Stieran mon sceal strongum mode, -- and paet on stapelum healdan (Seafarer, l. 109), but now it is a transcendence of earthly things for an eternal objective.

From this point of view we can more fully understand the first half of the poem, and, in fact, resolve its ambiguity. What we see here is an attempted stoicism in the face of a world that has crumbled and to which no return is possible for the exile. The sea as we find it in the first half, as opposed to the land which is the abode of men and the milieu of the comitatus, calls the exile away and comes to symbolize the region of stoic and Christian life in God in the second half. Needless to say, the attempted fusion within the seafarer's mind and heart is not entirely successful, inasmuch as it is difficult to say conclusively to what extent the seafarer succeeds in his stoicism -- the call of the land still has a strong grip on him -- but this tension is what gives the poem its vividly dramatic quality:

Wyrd biþ swiþre,
meotud meahtigra þonne aenges monnes gehygd.
(ll. 115b-116)

These lines suggest clearly how tenuous a distinction there is in his mind between God and fate, but both are present and acknowledged.

Basically, what I want to suggest here is that The Seafarer is a transitional poem, a bridge between the pagan tradition on the one hand, exemplified by The Ruin, and the Christian tradition on the other represented by The Dream of the Rood. The Seafarer holds the pagan and

Christian in balance; heavenly glory and glory among men are found side by side. In the comitatus context glory and fame, achieved by heroic conduct, are roughly equivalent to the Christian concept of immortality; both are essentially a way of making life more meaningful.⁹ But in the exile's position, the attainment of this kind of glory is impossible because of his isolation; consequently stoicism is the only alternative until Christianity comes and holds out the promise of eternal glory. This transcendence of earthly things gives meaning to the elegiac and exiled state. At this point we have come full circle and have arrived at the replacement and succession of the Christian ideology for the pagan Teutonic one. Nevertheless even in the distinctively Christian poems the familiar comitatus framework is retained. In Christ and The Dream of the Rood for example, the hereafter is clearly conceived of and developed as the heavenly comitatus which is tentatively defined in The Seafarer.

The second part of Cynewulf's Christ describes Christ's ascension into heaven as the desertion of his earthly comitatus. Consequently the situation of the disciples becomes analogous to the conventional elegiac position. Initially the followers mourn their loved one's leaving:

Him waes geomor sefa
 hat aet heortan, hyge murnende,
 paes þe hi swa leofne leng ne mostun
 geseon under swegle.

(ll. 499b-502a)

Then they lament their own forsaken state:

Gewitan him þa gongan to Hierusalem
 haeled hygerofe, in þa halgan burg,
 germormode, þonan hy god nyhst
 up stigende eagum segun,
 hyra wilgifan. þaer waes wopes hring.

torne bitolden; waes seo treowlufu
hat aet heortan, hreder innan weoll
beorn breostsefa.

(11. 533-540a)

But these men, provided they follow the commandments and laws and do God's will, are rewarded for their suffering on earth. They know they will gain eternal bliss and can anticipate joy in the heavenly comitatus:

Utan us to þære hyde hyht stapelian,
 Ða us gerymde rodera waldend,
 halge on heahþu, þa he heofonum astag.
 (11. 864-866)

The dreamer near the end of The Dream of the Rood is in a similarly elegiac position. He acknowledges the transitoriness of life implicitly when he speaks about the friends that have gone. But he knows the answer to the question where they have gone. They now live with God the Father in heaven and dwell in glory, and the speaker longs to join the saints at the heavenly comitatus table which is presided over by a Christ who earlier in the poem is clearly made into a heroic leader. The speaker knows that one day he too will be there and he anticipates the coming joy:

and ic wene me
daga gehwylc hwaenne me dryhtes rod,
þe ic her on eorðan aer sceawode,
on þysson laenan life gefetige
and me þonne gebringe þær is blis mycel
dream on heofonum, þær is dryhtnes folc
geseted to symle, þær is singal blis.
(ll. 135b-141)

IV

COMITATUS IN CHRISTIAN HEROIC POETRY

In the above discussion of the elegies it was necessary to come to terms with the increasingly more important Christian content. Initially we observed the presence of Christian elements in The Wanderer, a poem which is essentially pagan in spirit. Later we dealt with the more dominant Christian content in such a poem as The Seafarer, where we have a deliberate attempt at integration and fusion of the pagan and Christian tradition. The presence of Christian elements in the elegies and to a lesser extent in some of the heroic poems is evidence of the foreign Christian culture making inroads upon the native and pagan Teutonic one. This process of assimilation reaches a more pronounced stage of development when the Anglo-Saxon poet turns to the Bible and the lives of the saints for subject-matter. At this point Christianity is clearly in the ascendancy, but the old tradition has by no means been supplanted. There is frequent and substantial evidence in the formally religious poetry that, although the subject matter and intention are Christian, the poetry is altered by the continuing influence of the pagan tradition. This is not to say that the poet might not really be a convinced Christian, but rather that he looks at his subject-matter from a point of view which is, in part at least, pagan. Consequently Christ, in The Dream of the Rood, becomes not so much a gentle saviour-figure, the popular Christian view, but a young hero eagerly mounting the cross,

and Moses, in the poem Exodus, a bold chieftain of an armed and warlike host.

What we have before us in the Christian heroic and elegic poetry is a melting together of two different traditions, a process in which certain features of the old tradition, even though they may ultimately be antithetical to the new, survive and co-exist with it. The reasons why, despite the general acceptance of Christianity, pre-Christian ideals and habits of mind still prevail are mainly two; one is historical and the other lies in the nature of Anglo-Saxon poetics itself. Taking the historic one first, it is a self-evident truth that the formal acceptance or imposition of a new culture does not have the effect of superseding native traditions and customs all at once, particularly when these traditions and customs have developed over centuries and are consequently firmly imbedded in the racial consciousness. In any case, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was, as any collective conversion usually is, rather half-hearted to begin with and weakly based. It tended to be a nominal conversion for a great many people and it took some time before the new religion took firm root. Initially its acceptance was often arbitrary and a matter of expedience rather than the result of a genuine conversion. Witness the oft-quoted speech in which one of Edwin's nobles advises that king to embrace Christianity.¹ His argument does not rest on belief in the new God; he is not convinced of the truth of Christianity. He simply argues that, given their present beliefs which do not account for what comes before or after this fleeting life, one cannot lose by adopting a new religion which promises more certainty. In other words, life being a gamble you should cover your bets, just in case there is an afterlife. It is a

totally pragmatic argument. The subsequent sacrilegious act by Cefi, a priest of the pagan rite, clinches the argument and shows the expedient nature of the acceptance and the fatalistic attitude which motivates these Englishmen.² Nevertheless Christianity did become the norm and in time it took firm hold, but clearly part of the pagan tradition and outlook did survive.

The survival of pre-Christian ideas was also the result of the poetic form itself. Even a cursory glance at the body of Anglo-Saxon poetry extant reveals a remarkable lack of variety in verse structure and form. It is essentially descriptive poetry, descriptive of actions and objects, and there is tremendous difficulty in expressing a transition of time or a shade of sentiment. Anglo-Saxon poetry deals with the concrete and does not easily lend itself to abstractions.³ The alliterative structure of lines is rigid, there is little variety in meter, and the common stock of expressions available is comparatively small; the same phrase is found over and over again in remarkably different contexts.

The latter characteristic of a common stock of poetic diction is dealt with in detail by F. P. Magoun in a study entitled, "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry." In this article Magoun extends the work of M. Parry and A. B. Lord on oral poetry into the realm of Anglo-Saxon narrative poetry. Parry's and Lord's studies demonstrate "that the characteristic feature of all orally composed poetry is its totally formulaic character," as opposed to "lettered poetry," which is, "never formulaic."⁴ What this means precisely with respect to composition is this:

The oral singer does not memorize the songs of singers from whom he

learns nor later does he memorize in our sense of the word songs of his own making. His apprenticeship involves the learning of thematic material, plots, proper names, and formulas with which he will gradually become able to compose in regular verse songs of his own. A good singer is one able to make better use of the common fund of formulas than the indifferent or poor singer, though all will be drawing upon essentially the same body of material.⁵

The implications of this theory are far-reaching. By it we are enabled, among other things, to distinguish between oral and lettered poetry because,

. . . with the discovery of the dominant role of the formula in the composition of oral poetry and of the non-existence of metrical formulas in the poetry of lettered authors, we have suddenly acquired a touch-stone with which it is now possible to determine to which of the two great categories of poetry a recorded text belongs -- to the oral or to the lettered tradition.⁶

Magoun applies the oral-formulaic theory to the first twenty-five lines of Beowulf and to twenty-four lines of Christ and Satan (ll. 512-535), and conclusively demonstrates the formulaic character of these pieces and by implication of most other Anglo-Saxon poetry.⁷ Having made an exhaustive analysis of the Beowulf section, for example, he is able to conclude:

. . . that of the fifty verses only some thirteen, or twenty-six per cent, are not matched wholly or in part elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry. In a word, despite the relatively limited corpus of some 30,000 lines . . . in which to find corresponding phrases, some seventy per cent of the text of this passage does occur elsewhere. Were the surviving corpus, say, twice as big and if, above all, we had other songs of any extent dealing with anything like the same material, there might well be almost nothing in the language here used that could not be demonstrated as traditional.⁸

The relevance of Magoun's conclusions to the present study is that the traditional language, which "develops very, very slowly and over a long period of time and is created to deal only with traditional themes with which singers and audiences are in the main familiar,"⁹ inevitably contributes to the preservation of a pre-Christian mode of thinking even

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β . It is shown that the system has solutions for all values of the parameters α and β if the function $f(x)$ is continuous and has a bounded derivative.

In the second part of the paper the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations (1) for arbitrary values of the parameters α and β is solved. It is shown that the system has solutions for all values of the parameters α and β if the function $f(x)$ is continuous and has a bounded derivative.

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in the formally religious poems.

Gavin Bone earlier, working without the benefit of Magoun's work and probably Parry's and Lord's, suggest something very similar, even though he is apparently unaware and clearly not concerned with the oral character of Anglo-Saxon poetry.¹⁰ In an introductory essay to his verse translation of some Anglo-Saxon poems he is concerned with identifying in what the uniqueness of this poetry lies.¹¹ He analyzes the descriptive method, what he calls the "gripped-epithet method" and the difficulty inherent in it. In so doing he comments on the nature of the language:

Their language was not easy to write in . . . the difficulty is not so much a matter of subjects . . . it lies rather in a fortification of uncomfortable words. . . . These poets have not got musical thoughts, they have certain patterns to be filled out with few words. . . . words which stand for things in their own right, [and] An Anglo-Saxon word is as uncompromising as a table.¹²

These observations lead him on to a generalization, a central fact of Anglo-Saxon poetics, which is absolutely essential for an understanding of the poetry:

The few conventions of form suggest this [i.e. the difficulty mentioned above]. There is battle and seafaring, riddle and wise saying, the speech in high style, and the lament and lyric. When away from these forms the Anglo-Saxon poet is apt to be at a loss and drags his matter back into their patterns with apparent relief. "Comrades" even in peace, are always "battle-thanes".¹³

That is to say, limited to a traditional mode of expression, the language itself acts as a transforming influence on the subject-matter; the very words bring the subject into a frame of reference which is essentially foreign to it. Frequently the mode is the heroic because it is the major form, and consequently the Christian theme is infused with a quality of heroism which it does not have of itself. And even when not explicitly heroic, as in the elegiac which I have called the inverse

of the heroic, the comitatus is inevitably there as a necessary frame of reference. There is a further consequence of this limitation of form, which is less of a drawback than the terminology suggests. The Anglo-Saxon poet, guided by his native instinct, will more often than not select themes in which the comitatus can form an integral part. This accounts for the obvious preponderance of such themes in the biblical paraphrases extant. Magoun acknowledges it explicitly when he says, "the Christian themes that the singers apparently liked best to sing about are in the main stories involving extraordinary and exciting adventures and events."¹⁴ Later, when he speaks again of what might have been a difficulty in adapting the traditional language to this new and different thematic material, the Christian material that is, he points out, "that the singers did not make things unnecessarily hard for themselves by attempting to sing about matters for the expression of which the old diction would have been inadequate."¹⁵ When the comitatus theme is absent, as in the case of Juliana or Guthlac, the poems are flat and uninteresting; they lack that distinctive feature which makes the other poems good poems. As Bone so aptly puts it, instead of the "Anglo-Saxon outlook" they "have only the ordinary medieval outlook," and are "all at a dead level of similarity."¹⁶

Turning now to a consideration of some representative works of the Christian-heroic type, we find particular instances of the fusion of old and new. We observe that initially, in assimilating the comitatus structure into the Christian context, it has been extended to include the supernatural so that God and not the hero is now the leader. This anticipates the heavenly comitatus of eternal life hereafter, a concept which we already saw in rudimentary form in The Seafarer. But only when

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. It also discusses the limitations of the study and the areas for further research. The third part of the paper discusses the significance of the study and the contributions it has made to the field of research. It also discusses the practical applications of the study and the policy implications of the research. The fourth part of the paper discusses the future of the study and the areas for further research. It also discusses the challenges faced by the study and the opportunities for future research. The fifth part of the paper discusses the conclusion of the study and the final thoughts of the researcher. It also discusses the overall findings of the study and the key takeaways from the research. The sixth part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments of the researcher and the people who have helped in the study. It also discusses the references used in the study and the sources of information. The seventh part of the paper discusses the appendix of the study and the additional information provided. It also discusses the glossary of terms used in the study and the definitions of key concepts. The eighth part of the paper discusses the bibliography of the study and the list of references. It also discusses the index of the study and the location of key information. The ninth part of the paper discusses the conclusion of the study and the final thoughts of the researcher. It also discusses the overall findings of the study and the key takeaways from the research. The tenth part of the paper discusses the acknowledgments of the researcher and the people who have helped in the study. It also discusses the references used in the study and the sources of information. The eleventh part of the paper discusses the appendix of the study and the additional information provided. It also discusses the glossary of terms used in the study and the definitions of key concepts. The twelfth part of the paper discusses the bibliography of the study and the list of references. It also discusses the index of the study and the location of key information.

we turn to the explicitly religious poetry do we find a full formulation of an earthly comitatus, the real leader of which is God. In other words, the whole comitatus concept, though retaining its formal structure, has been Christianized.

The poem Exodus is a good example of this successful integration. It stands out among the Christian epics as one of the best Biblical paraphrases, and is in fact not a mere paraphrase as the title may suggest. It is a piece of stirring and independent writing which does not by any means suffer from a dead medieval outlook. The source of Exodus is of course the second book of the Old Testament, but the poet uses only two chapters, XIII and XIV, along with some allusions to earlier and later events in the life of Moses. The events described in these two chapters are few, and as presented they hardly warrant a poem of 590 lines. But the poet evidently used the facts of the account only as raw material out of which he created a carefully organized epic narrative. He elaborates frankly on everything that appeals to his imagination and goes well beyond the limits of the Biblical record to surprise the reader with interesting details and additions, nearly all of which are of a descriptive nature. The padding of the story, for that is what it is, is strikingly effective. The mere Biblical events which it emphasizes, the coming out of Egypt, the situation of the Israelites being trapped between the Red Sea and their pursuers, and the destruction of the Egyptians, are given new life and vitality when the Anglo-Saxon poet shaped them into a Christian-heroic poem.

In the poem Exodus we find the conventional heroic formulas and epithets such as Ahleop þa for haeledum hildecalla / bald beohata, bord up ahof and tirfaeste haeled, and werodes bearhtme. These expres-

sions are, as isolated examples, not all that significant, except that they recall the limited vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon poet and bring the subject at least nominally into the heroic framework. In context however, as part of a general description, they have a decisive influence on the manner in which the subject is viewed:

Fyrd waes gefysed, from se ðe laedde,
 modig magoraeswa, maegburh heora.
 Oferfor he mid þy folce faestena worn,
 land and leodweard, Laðra manna,
 enge anpaðas, uncud gelad,
 oðpaet hie on Guðmyrce gearwe baeron.
(ll. 54-59)

Here the Israelites are clearly not so much a people in flight as they are a warlike host trekking across foreign lands. The Egyptians, too, are conceived in similar terms, and perhaps more correctly so, since they are an army. There are elements of description which remind us not a little of other armies in Northern pre-Christian battle poems in this portrayal of the Egyptians:

Him þaer segncyning wið þone segn foran,
 manna þengel, mearcþreate rad;
 guðweard gumena grimhelm gespeon,
 rining cinberge, (cumbol lixton),
 wiges on wenum, wæhlencan sceoc,
 heht his hereciste healdan georne
 faest fyrdgetrum. Feond onsegon
 laðum eagum landmanna cyme.
 Ymb hine waegon wigend unforhte,
 hare heorowulfas hilde gretton,
 þurstige þraecwiges, þeodenholde.
(ll. 172-182)

There is the initial focussing on the chief followed by his exhortation of the troops which is characteristic of the preamble before battle in the heroic situation. There is the emphasis on courage and fierceness and, more significant, the mention of allegiance to the leader.

Thus both forces are depicted in conventional comitatus terms,

but the poet cannot distort his text to make the Israelites stand and fight. The situation is a natural one for the heroic defence of a narrow place, but some verisimilitude to the facts is demanded by the sacred nature of the source, and the Israelites must be saved by divine intervention. This poses something of a problem. The poet overcomes this by deliberately minimizing the frightened and even cowardly attitude displayed by the Israelites in the Bible story, and, as soon as the Israelites have safely crossed the Red Sea with God's help and the Egyptians have been overwhelmed, the Israelites, who have already been described as seafarers, turn into full-blooded Anglo-Saxons, when they swoop down on the remnants of the Egyptian army and plunder the stricken warriors washed up on the shore, as if an actual battle had been waged. The battle imagery is further emphasized not only by the repeated mention of war gear, but also by the references to bloodshed and the presence of such northern beasts of prey as the raven and the wolf.

More important at this point of our discussion is the final speech of Moses. Here we see not only the necessary *comitatus* framework but also the shift which has occurred:

"Micel is þeos menigeo, mægenwisa trum,
 füllesta maest, se þas fare laeðeð.
 Hafað us on Cananea cyn gelyfed
 burh and beagas, brade rece;
 wile nu gelaestan þaet he lange gehet
 mid aedsware engla drihten,
 in fyrndagum, faederyncynne,
 gif ge gehealdað halige lare
 þaet ge feonda gehwone forð ofergangað,
 gesittað sigerice be saem tweonum,
 beorselas beorna.

(ll. 554-564b)

Even though Moses has functioned throughout the poem as the chieftain we now find that the engla dryhten is the real leader of the *comitatus*, and,

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It then proceeds to a literature review, where the author examines previous studies on the topic. The methodology section follows, detailing the research design and data collection methods. The results section presents the findings of the study, and the discussion section interprets these findings in the context of the research objectives. The paper concludes with a summary of the main points and suggestions for future research.



The graph illustrates the trend of the data over time, showing a general upward trend with some fluctuations. The error bars suggest that there is some uncertainty in the measurements.

by implication, that Moses is the intermediary, the earthly representative of God, as he appears in the Bible. The flesh and blood hero has been replaced by a supernatural being, yet interestingly enough the natural material reward imagery, cities, treasure and the beer hall, and that other central feature of heroic life, glory, has been retained. What this shows is that the comitatus is still an earthly one, but it has been extended to include God as the ultimate leader.

A similar, though less explicitly stated, re-ordering of the comitatus can be seen in that part of the Genesis A poem (ll. 1960-2095) which deals with the capture and rescue of Lot. This episode, commonly referred to as "The War of Kings" is also a striking example of a passage of vigorous writing in a comparatively dull poem. It is a stirring piece bearing that distinct Anglo-Saxon outlook, unlike the rest of the poem. This is largely so because it is concerned with an event which lends itself to the heroic ideal and comitatus structure without any distortion, while the rest of the Genesis poem is uncongenial to the heroic mode and to any other native form for that matter.

The Genesis (A), which begins with a prologue about the war in heaven, is a paraphrase of the first twenty-two chapters of the Book of Genesis. It would seem that the translator is concerned with giving a faithful translation rather than with writing a good poem, but I suspect that the reason for this lies at least partly in the subject-matter and not entirely in the intention. The Judeo-Christian Myth of creation does not seem to stimulate the poet's imagination, but when he comes to the events described in Chapter XIV: 1-16, which deal with the rescue of a kinsman while being badly outnumbered, he cannot stick to the quiet biblical account. There is a noticeable change in pace and a quickening

of interest; the poet seems to recognize the potential of the episode and its suitability for heroic expression. His response is instantaneous. Armies, battles and the ravages of war, these are the things that obviously speak to him rather than such abstractions as the Spirit of God moving upon the waters or the subtlety of the promise of a Redeemer who will come forth from the woman.¹⁷

The matter of battle is obviously more the poet's forte; with swift, sure strokes he describes the initial campaign in which Sodom and Gomorrah fall and Lot is captured:

Foron þa tosomne, (francan waeron hlude),
wraðe waelherigas. Sang se wanna fugel
under deoredsceaftum, deawigfedera,
hraes on wenan.

(ll. 1982-1985)

Here, as in the Exodus, the poet imposes his own northern concepts on the biblical events and brings them thereby into the heroic context. Abraham becomes a warrior chief, and the loss suffered by the men of Sodom and Gomorrah is spoken of in the following terms:

wurdon Sodomware
and Gomorre, goldes bryttan,
aet þaem lindcrodan leofum bedrorene,
fyrdgesteallum.

(ll. 1996-1999)

In terms of the comitatus, the bond of kinship is sacred, and it is Abraham's avowed intention to rescue Lot even though he can only muster a force of three hundred and eighteen aescberendra to go against a full-sized army. The situation is the traditional heroic struggle against impossible odds, and the poet's admiration is plainly in evidence in his final comment:

Naefre mon ealra
lifigendra her lytle werede
þon wurdlicor wigsid ateah,

The first of these is the fact that the
 government has been unable to raise
 sufficient funds to meet its obligations.
 This has led to a situation where the
 government is unable to pay its debts.
 The second is the fact that the
 government has been unable to raise
 sufficient funds to meet its obligations.
 This has led to a situation where the
 government is unable to pay its debts.

Item	Amount
1. Interest on loans	100,000,000
2. Interest on bonds	200,000,000
3. Interest on debentures	300,000,000
4. Interest on mortgages	400,000,000
5. Interest on other securities	500,000,000
6. Interest on other loans	600,000,000
7. Interest on other bonds	700,000,000
8. Interest on other debentures	800,000,000
9. Interest on other mortgages	900,000,000
10. Interest on other securities	1,000,000,000

The third is the fact that the
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The fourth is the fact that the
 government has been unable to raise
 sufficient funds to meet its obligations.
 This has led to a situation where the
 government is unable to pay its debts.

para þe wīð swa miclum mægne geraesde.
(11. 2092-95)

Abraham and his men conduct themselves in the best heroic form when they rescue Lot:

Abraham sealde
wig to wedde, nalles wunden gold,
for his suhtrigan; sloh and fylde
feon on fitte.
(11. 2069-72)

But although Abraham functions as the visible leader of the troop, the real leader seems to be God, for the next line in this passage reads, Him on fultum grap / heofonrices weard, which clearly shows that it is by the intervention of God that the men are victorious. Earlier on, Abraham acknowledges the power of God and indicates that he depends on God's assistance for a successful outcome:

cwaed þaet him se halga
ece drihten, eade mihte
aet þam sperenide spede laenan.
(11. 2057-59)

Apart from this conventional religious treatment of the comitatus in terms of the extension and substitution of God for hero, a somewhat different development can be observed in parts of the Genesis (B). In the account of the Fall of the Angels and the temptation of man, Satan tends to become a hero and his followers a loyal comitatus. The problem which arises here -- Satan after all should be presented as unheroic -- serves to show at this point once again how central the whole comitatus framework is, how the Anglo-Saxon poet depends on it and inevitably treats his material in terms of it. From the very first when Satan begins to be guilty of pride -- the poet speaks of Satan's boasts, the conventional heroic manner of stating one's position and intention -- Satan emerges as a heroic figure, particularly in his courageous

challenge of a power greater than himself. The poet tries to correct our impression by constantly reminding us of Satan's sin, in what are in effect a series of moral asides:

Forþon he sceolde grund gesecean
 heardes hellewites, þæs þe he wann wið heofones
 waldend.
 (11. 302-303)

But these do not really suffice, because the very vocabulary used to describe Satan and his conduct place him in the role of comitatus leader. One of the more striking examples is in his address to the fallen angels when he asks for a volunteer to visit the earth:

Gif ic aenigum þægne þeodenmaðmas
 geara forgeafe, þenden we on þam godan rice
 gesaelig sæton and hæfdon ure setla geweald,
 þonne he me na on leofran tid laenum ne meahte
 mine gife gylðan.
 (11. 409-413)

The fundamental principle of comitatus is clearly expressed here; only a comitatus chief could speak in this way. Satan reminds his followers of his former generosity and tells them in the same breath that if ever there was a time to repay him with loyal service that time is now. This is the standard arrangement and, at least in part, an appeal to their sense of honour. It is a kind of appeal found over and over again in similar situations. It can be observed, for example, near the end of Beowulf when Wiglaf addresses his companions, Beowulf's retainers, and initially tries to move them to help their chief and later reprimands them for hanging back.¹⁸

As in the Christian elegiac statements considered earlier (pp. 48-50) we can observe in the representative Christian-heroic pieces discussed here, the preservation of the comitatus concept. The disciples of Christ left behind in the elegies become an earthly comitatus

led by God in the Christian-heroic poetry. Needless to say, this pattern is not contained in the part of Genesis (8) mentioned above, but nevertheless, here too, we can observe the immediacy of the comitatus to the poet when he imposes its familiar framework on Satan and the rest of the fallen angels.



THE BOAR AND THE CROSS IN THE BATTLE OF MALDON

Having considered what heroic poetry is in the Anglo-Saxon tradition and what makes it heroic, and having seen how it develops from the pre-Christian into the Christian heroic, let us now turn to The Battle of Maldon. Maldon comes very near the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Some seventy-five years after the battle takes place the Normans successfully defeat the English and thereby sound the death knell of Anglo-Saxon culture and thought. It is composed at a time when the interest in German themes and the old way of life was inevitably on the wane because the old culture had nominally been replaced by the Christian culture. But though Maldon comes at this late date, it is still not surprising that the comitatus framework is basic to the whole poem. It is not surprising because, as I have shown, comitatus and the concomitant heroic principles are preserved in the tradition, in the Christian poetry as well as in the pagan, up until the time of Maldon. The whole concept, though modified, is still vital and alive and very much at the centre of heroic poetry. What is surprising however, and what needs examination is that the poem is clearly a return to and working out of the heroic concepts as we find them originally formulated, while at the same time it acknowledges explicitly the Christianity of the participants. Maldon, though it deals with a contemporary historical event rather than with a traditional heroic theme, has much

closer affinities with the poems of the early tradition such as The Finnsburg Fragment than with such contemporary works as the Christian Exodus or the historic Brunanburh.

The view of Maldon as the most articulate expression of northern heroic faith was generally held by the older critics -- W. P. Ker¹ and E. V. Gordon² are good examples -- and is still maintained by a number of present-day critics, but recently there has been a tendency to look upon Maldon as a Christian poem and upon its hero Byrhtnoth as a Christian saint to the exclusion of pagan heroism. This tendency with respect to Maldon results from a broader critical opinion which holds that all Old English poetry is informed by and based upon Christian principles, this despite appearances, in cases of poems not composed on Christian themes or within Christian literary genres. In the extreme, this approach cultivates an understanding of Anglo-Saxon poetry as the handmaiden of Christian apologetics, to parody a maxim about medieval philosophy. And the parody is not all that far-fetched when we consider that B. F. Huppé, for example, attempts to prove that the Augustinian theory of literature as expressed in De Doctrina Christiana "had a positive influence upon the early practice of poetry in the vernacular, specifically Old English."³ Having proved this to his satisfaction by a consideration of Aldhelm and Bede and the "Caedmonian" poems, he goes on to conjecture about "pagan" poems, operating from the critical premise, just established, that Anglo-Saxon poetry was written to promote the Augustinian doctrine of charity which is, to paraphrase Augustine, the love of God and one's neighbours. M. W. Bloomfield, a less dogmatic critic of the Christianizing school, asserts that an interpretation of Christian references and passages in light of the writings of the

Fathers of the Church, "will not only explain particular lines but clarify the background implicit in these works and help identify the overall purpose of these poems,"⁴ -- this "purpose" being ultimately Christian, of course.

However valid Huppé's hypothesis may be for those Christian poems which were intentionally composed with this purpose in view, and obviously not all of them were, it clearly is putting the cart before the horse when we approach a poem with a preconceived notion of what its purpose is. It seems a violation of a fundamental principle of criticism. Bloomfield seems to be merely riding the crest of a popular wave when he says, "Germanizing interpretations, dominant for years, seem to be on the wane and Christianizing interpretations are very common."⁵ Following the doubtful authority of this statement, he proposes that, "It is in the Fathers, the main literary material (along with the Bible) of the Christians who wrote or composed OE literature as it is preserved, that we can find the best sources for discovering the Christian materials in these poems (i.e. Beowulf and Maldon)."⁶ Earlier, in stating that his purpose is to "call attention to three passages in OE literature which can be illuminated by the writings of the Fathers," he says that by this illumination, "a sense of the meaning of the whole poems of which they are a part can be suggested if not completely attained."⁷ Surely this is too facile; the point is, if you keep looking hard enough, any of the poems will reveal this "underlying" Christian meaning -- after all the Devil himself quotes Scripture! To determine the overall meaning of the poem on the basis of the Christian elements and deny the obviously pagan concepts which it might contain is as dangerous, if not more so, than to ignore or dismiss the Christian

elements as overlays or as just irrelevant. Both views sometimes reveal what B. Raffel has assessed as a fundamental lack of respect for the poets and poetry of the Anglo-Saxon period.⁸ A bias so often revealed in critical writings is that Anglo-Saxon poetry is something barbaric and primitive and consequently not as good as anything written since.⁹ And again it seems that some writers are all too ready to accept or expound theories of multiple authorship and reworking because the poem at hand does not conform to our modern concepts of unity. I think it is possible and even necessary to consider the poems in which there is this apparent conflict between pagan and Christian content as thematically and structurally whole poems. From a modern point of view we may feel uncomfortable to see distinctly pagan and distinctly Christian ideas present in the same poem because the military and even aggressive nature of comitatus life is in conflict with the pacifist tenets of Christianity. But we are looking from a vantage-point and have a perspective which the Anglo-Saxons did not have. When Christianity comes, as pointed out previously, they are a heroic and warlike people, and hence for some time we have a strange mixture of Christian and pagan culture and life. The poet writing during this period would avail himself of both traditions and reflect in his writing the blending of them. As Bruce Mitchell points out:

. . . conversion was neither universal nor immediate. But those who experienced it must have been a strange blend of pagan and Christian, combining as they did the fierce courage and pride of paganism with the new hope derived from Christianity -- a blend strikingly seen on the Benty Grange helmet which bears both the pagan boar and the Christian Cross.¹⁰

Mitchell continues by giving some modern examples of similar duality and concludes,

. . . it follows that a poem which contains distinctly pagan and distinctly Christian ideas . . . need not be a Christian reworking of a pagan poem. Its author may have been a converted pagan, or . . . a man who, because he had lived with survivors of a past civilization, could grasp its values imaginatively and appreciate them even while he himself belonged to a new age.¹¹

Part of the problem of the apparent contradiction has already been solved by showing how the comitatus is adopted and assimilated into the Christian context without undue distortion of either. It is done partially by a shift in emphasis and partially by an extension, so that the comitatus continues to function as a central concept even in a Christian society like that of Byrhtnoth and his followers in Maldon. In other words, the fact that Byrhtnoth and his followers are presented as Christians in the poem does not necessarily conflict with an interpretation of the poem as a statement of northern heroic principles.

Apart from generally denying the validity of the Christianizing theory as expressed by Huppé and Bloomfield and suggesting instead the possibility of a blending of two cultures, I will consider the shortcomings of their specific application of the theory to Maldon and examine the Christian references to see if they are integrated into the theme and structure of the poem; to see, in fact, whether or not the poem is a vehicle for Christian propaganda or an artistic expression which is fundamentally Christian in its intent, or whether, as I will argue, two traditions are successfully combined to produce an integral whole.

The application of the Christianizing theory to Maldon results in a distortion and an implicit if not outright dismissal of its heroic qualities. Briefly the reading is as follows. The war between the Christian men of Essex and the heathen vikings is seen as a justum

bellum, the classic opposition between good and evil; and the leader of the Christians, Byrhtnoth, who fights so courageously and dies in the attempt to ward off the heathens, lays down his life for his country, thus in effect becoming a martyr; and the qualities of bravery he displays are interpreted as the prerequisite talents for the classification of heroic sanctity. In the second half of the poem the Augustinian doctrine of charity is illustrated in the conduct of the retainers who die for love of their leader.

The arguments to support this interpretation center on Byrhtnoth's dying prayer (ll. 173-180) and are further buttressed by the emphasis given to the few scattered Christian references. In other words, eight lines of the poem are used to determine the intent of a poem 325 lines in length. Huppé does this when he says that Byrhtnoth "dies like a Christian martyr, not like the 'heroic' Viking wolves who slew him," and that "it is the spirit of his dying words, which most completely illumines the entire poem."¹² Bloomfield, following Huppé's hypothesis, concurs with this reading when he suggests that, "In this poem written shortly after his death, such a speech (ll. 175-180) would suggest a consciousness [on the part of the poet, Bloomfield implies] of his martyrdom."¹³

There are two points with which I would like to take issue here: the undue emphasis given to the prayer, and the apparent influence of what is understood to be the historical situation, an influence which in part gives rise to the emphasis and the consequent interpretation of the poem. I will deal with the latter point first. Both Huppé and Bloomfield, in an effort to prove the Christian character of Byrhtnoth, appeal to the popular tradition concerning him represented in such works

as the Liber Eliensis and the Vita Oswaldi in which he is, "celebrated for his piety and for his benefactions to English monasteries."¹⁴

Perhaps they are uncomfortable at finding this man and his followers behaving heroically, translating the northern heroic principles into actions. But there seems to be a confusion here of history and poetry, of the actual battle and the historical personages who took part in it and the poetic rendering of them. As E. J. Cross points out, "Byrhtnoth could have become a martyr-saint and warranted his passio, since the circumstances of his death fulfill the essential qualification for sainthood for those in the life active in this period of history."¹⁵

Theoretically and perhaps even historically the confrontation between the men of Essex and the vikings is a just war, as understood by the Church Fathers, because it is a defence by Christian men of their homes and lands against the infidel, and consequently Bloomfield may well be right in saying, "No doubt as a fighter against the heathen and in the manner of his death, Byrhtnoth had a religious dimension in the minds of his compatriots, as the tradition of his life shows."¹⁶ But we are not concerned here with what history made or could have made out of Byrhtnoth, nor are we primarily interested in what actually went on in the minds of the compatriots. Historical speculation, and that is what most of this is, is dangerous in any case; though perhaps interesting, it is irrelevant here. We are concerned with explaining the poem as we have it, with the way in which the poet deals with the battle and his presentation of the warriors involved, not with outside sources, and with outside parallels only when they have direct bearing on the poem and the poet's intention as revealed in the poem. This is not to deny the historicity of the poem, but to say, as I think we should, that it

is what the poet does with historical facts that should interest the critic.

Concerning the poet's intention in Maldon, Cross has conclusively shown in his "Oswald and Byrhtnoth," to which I shall have occasion to refer later, how different the intention is from the aim of such an avowedly Christian writer as AElfric. By comparing AElfric's rendition of the Life of Oswald, his Natale S. Oswaldi Regis et Martyris, to his source, which was Bede, Cross shows how AElfric conveniently leaves out anything that would detract from a presentation of Oswald as a devout and pious Christian, a man whose every action was inspired by love and faith. Our poet may have been equally selective in his choice of material. Why as a poet should he be bound by historical accuracy? But it seems obvious, without going into a detailed analysis at this point, that the poet who speaks of the glory of war and fated men just before the battle is about to begin, and one who tells us that Byrhtnoth, the central figure of his poem, exhorts his men by speaking of the glory they can win by fighting the Danes, is not trying to mold his material to illustrate and illuminate explicitly Christian ideals of heroic sanctity. The poet says:

pa was feohte neh,
tir aet getohte; waes seo tid cumen
paet paer faege menn feallan sceoldon.
(ll. 103b-104)

and he describes Byrhtnoth's exhortation as:

stihte hi Byrhtnoð
baed paet hyssa gehwyle hogode to wige,
pe on Denon wolde dom gefeohtan.
(ll. 127b-129)

Cross' comment on these speeches is pertinent here; he observes:

. . . even though we should not make too much of 'tir aet getohte',

. . . we may note that no hagiographer would ever speak of the possibility of earthly glory (as here) in battle and that he is most pleased when an active leader is to gain glory by not fighting, as does St. Edmund in imitation of the model of non-resistance, Jesus Christ.¹⁷

Even Dorothy Whitelock, who argues against the presence and preservation of well defined pre-Christian concepts in Anglo-Saxon poetry in general, has to admit with evident reluctance that the desire for glory in conventional heroic terms is of more importance to the Anglo-Saxon than a heavenly reward:

One of the least Christian features of extant heroic poetry, a feature perhaps inherited from heathen times, is that men seem more concerned with the reputation they will leave behind them than with divine rewards in this world or the next.

By way of illustration she quotes in translation the following speech by Beowulf:

Ure aeghwylc sceal ende gebidan
 woroldes lifes; wyrce se þe mote
 domes aer deape; þaet bið drihtguman
 unlifgendum aefter selest.
 (Beowulf, ll. 1386-1389)

She then observes that the poet's final comment on his hero is that of all men he was lofgeornost, "the most eager for glory," after which she goes on to say:

The poet who wrote this was a Christian, and his hero wins his glory by virtues not incompatible with a Christian code. Yet it emphasizes the difference between this remark and a strict churchman's point of view to note that the tenth-century homilist AElfric uses an equivalent term to explain what is meant by the deadly sin of pride.¹⁸

Professor Whitelock's remarks here suggest a distinction of aims which is crucial to a correct evaluation of heroic poetry and eminently applicable to Maldon. The poet of Maldon was probably a Christian and Byrhtnoth does win his glory "by virtues not incompatible with a Christian code," but his motives, as those of his followers, are secular. The motivating concept of Byrhtnoth is clearly given in his

exhortation quoted above, the men are exhorted to fight in order to win glory, and the motive most often repeated by the retainers is vengeance. The intention here can hardly be Christian, even though in the end the retainers invoke the aid of God:

and God baedon
 þaet hi moston gewrecan hyra winedrihten,
 and on hyra feondum fyl gewyrcean.
 (ll. 262b-264)

To say that these lines give testimony to a spirit of Christian idealism and help to prove that this spirit infuses the whole poem seems to do rather some violence to their meaning. The only positively Christian idea expressed here, is that the followers of Byrhtnoth are Christians and that the poet acknowledges them to be Christians. But farther than that we cannot go, because God is invoked to wreak vengeance and to destroy the enemy, rather than to give victory to the Christians. This is self-evident in the fact that the men know at this point that the battle is lost and that they are doomed; they do not expect a divine miracle to save them. It is an instance which graphically illustrates the curious blend of pagan and Christian concepts; the Christian God is invoked that they may live up to what the heroic code demands. In this instance the principle at stake is that you must avenge your leader because, to paraphrase Tacitus, it is a disgrace to leave a battle alive after your chief has fallen. The argument can be advanced, of course, that since the men give up their life for love of their leader they are giving witness to the Augustinian doctrine of charity. But that is like saying that Christianity has a monopoly on love which is certainly in error; as I pointed out before, the bond of allegiance between the chief and the companions had a deep and personal basis in the comitatus

context. Apart from this instance and the prayer, which is more central still to the Christianizing argument, there are two other times when God is called upon. In both cases it is Byrhtnoth; once immediately after he has allowed the vikings to cross and he says god ana wat / hwa ðaere waelstowe wealdan mote (ll. 94c-95), and again after an individual combat scene when he gives thanks to God for a good day's work granted to him. Let us consider the latter instance first.

After a scene describing a hand to hand combat between Byrhtnoth and a viking, a scene occupying sixteen and one half lines, the poet says:

Se eorl waes ðe bliþra;
 hloh ða, modi man, saede metode panc
 ðaes daegweorces ðe him drihten forgeaf.
(ll. 146b-148)

Again this is not an expression of faith so much as an effective understatement, the irony of which is obvious. These lines follow immediately upon a battle scene which has no mention of the heathen, the ungodly enemy, or anything for that matter which might suggest that Byrhtnoth is fighting as the champion of a Christian cause, or that his conduct here illustrates Christian virtues. In fact, there is no such value judgement whatsoever. The whole scene serves to give evidence of his bravery and skill in battle; of the fact that, as the heroic code demands, he fights in a conspicuous place in the van of the fight, and that he surpasses any of his followers in valour. In this encounter he is wounded, but not severely, and he kills his opponent with such dexterity that the poet takes seven and one half lines to tell us precisely how. It is quite obvious what the poet considers to be important here! The Se eorl waes ðe bliþra and Byrhtnoth's laugh are in the tradition of so

many northern heroes, like Gunnar and Hagen of the Volsunga Saga for example, who laugh with grim humour not only when they have despatched an opponent in a rather bloody manner, but also when they themselves are on the point of death. After all, the day's work for which Byrhtnoth thanks God is the slaughter he has wreaked so far upon the vikings. It is another case where the concepts symbolized by the boar and the Cross on the Benty Grange helmet are curiously combined.

Of the challenge made by Byrhtnoth to the vikings after they have crossed, a challenge which has a rather fatalistic quality, Huppé says, "one wonders how 'purely' heroic is Byrhtnoth's challenge" in light of the fact that he "was historically celebrated for his piety and for his benefactions to English monasteries."¹⁹ He goes on to compare Byrhtnoth's speech to one of Abraham's, which occurs in "The War of Kings" episode in Genesis:

cwaed þaet him se halga
eðe drihten, eade mihte
aet þam sperenide speðe laenan.
(11. 2057-59)

Huppé avers that Abraham, like Byrhtnoth, said this when "facing battle against unbelievers." He continues "Would not Abraham, the warrior, have come more readily to the mind of Byrhtnoth's audience than a distant suppositious hero of the pagan past?"²⁰ All this is rather glib and too tidy. Huppe is, of course, quite right in denying that . Byrhtnoth's speech is "'purely' heroic" inasmuch as Byrhtnoth does refer to the Christian God, and unquestionably in good faith, but that is as far as it goes. I have already dealt with the historical perspective which comes out again here and shown its irrelevance. When Huppé, furthermore, implies a consciousness on the part of Abraham in facing

unbelievers" he is guilty of inventing evidence, perhaps as a result of wishful thinking, because in this lively section of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis there is no mention anywhere of "unbelievers" or anything that would even suggest this idea. The closest the poet comes in describing the Elamites is Nordmen and fynd, terms which are neutral enough with respect to religious beliefs. In my previous discussion of "The War of Kings" episode it became clear that Abraham's primary interest was not the overthrow of unbelievers, but the rescue of Lot, his kinsman; something which within the comitatus context where kinship is so sacred would not have seemed strange to an Anglo-Saxon, and it is on this count that the aid of God is invoked and received.

Concerning the suggestion that Abraham would "have come more readily to the mind . . . than a distant suppositious hero of the pagan past," this is an unfair proposition since all that would be required is a general familiarity with heroic poetry, which is not unlikely in light of its continued popularity, rather than the knowledge of a specific hero. But even if the audience did think of Abraham's speech, it should be remembered that, as I have already shown, the entire episode is treated in a heroic manner within the familiar comitatus framework. But I think it is unlikely that they recalled it, because there is no direct parallel here; the confidence expressed in Abraham's words is clearly not present in Byrhtnoth's. Abraham expects God to help him in rescuing Lot; Byrhtnoth emphatically does not ask for God's help in battle here or anywhere else. His utterance if anything expresses a common enough idea -- the best man will win; that is, arms and skill in battle will decide the outcome. This has a fatalistic quality, quite appropriate in the heroic context, even when the power that is in control is acknowl-

edged to be God. Byrhtnoth speaks like a hero, but he is an Anglo-Saxon hero in Christian England.

Just because Byrhtnoth does not ask God's help in battle does not mean, of course, that he does not turn to God, as we have already seen; and it is certainly appropriate that he should turn to God in the last moments of his life. In his final words he asks God to have mercy on his soul so that it may go swiftly to heaven and not be molested by the evil spirits. Of this prayer Bloomfield says:

In this poem written shortly after his death, such a speech would suggest a consciousness of his martyrdom. And in the brutal killing of Byrhtnoth by a mass of heathens, the poet (or perhaps Byrhtnoth himself) saw the hordes of devils who were waiting for his soul. By his prayer, the hero was asking, as a martyr might ask, for special protection from God, and no doubt the poet and his audience felt he would obtain his wish.²¹

And Huppé, whose claims are somewhat stronger and who has already referred to Byrhtnoth's "saintly death" by saying that "he dies like a Christian martyr," avers that "it is the spirit of his dying words, which most completely illumines the entire poem," and he continues:

This dying speech is far from the "purely heroic." . . . The speech is inappropriate to a dying Hector or a dying Siegfried. It is appropriate to a Christian martyr.²²

Both agree that the prayer befits a Christian martyr and we need not necessarily quarrel here, but their implication that Byrhtnoth consequently is a saint-like figure and that the whole poem is therefore one which is Christian in spirit is based on the erroneous assumption that the prayer is peculiar to martyrs only, that is that it irrevocably classifies Byrhtnoth as a saint. I quite agree that the prayer is "inappropriate to a dying Hector or a dying Siegfried" because these are figures from a pre-Christian tradition whereas Byrhtnoth is a Christian but that this robs him of heroic stature does not necessarily follow.

The first of these is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The second is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The third is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The fourth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The fifth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The sixth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The seventh is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The eighth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The ninth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The tenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The eleventh is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twelfth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The sixteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The seventeenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The eighteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The nineteenth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twentieth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-first is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-second is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-third is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-fourth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-fifth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-sixth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-seventh is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-eighth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The twenty-ninth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The thirtieth is the fact that the system is not self-sufficient.

The question that must be asked is, if the sentiments expressed in the prayer are uniquely those of a martyr? I believe a brief examination will show that the sentiments expressed are of the common stock of prayers and befitting to ordinary Christians, not only martyrs. There are any number of prayers, many of them in common usage today, in which we find the commendation of one's spirit to God and the belief that evil spirits may attempt to overcome and gain possession of the soul at death, and it is with this that Byrhtnoth's prayer is largely concerned:

"Gepancie þe, deoda waldend,
 ealru þaera wynna þe ic on worulde gebad.
 Nu ic ah, milde metod, maeste þearfe
 þaet þu minum gaste godes geunne,
 þaet min sawul to ðe sidian mote,
 on þin geweald, þeoden engla,
 mid friþe ferian. Ic eom frymdi to þe,
 þaet hi heldsceaðan hynan ne moton!"
 (11. 173-80)

In the prayer for the dying in the Roman Ritual even today we find the commendatio animae type of prayer with explicit reference to the evil adversary:

Dearest brother I commend you to almighty God . . . And then when your soul goes forth from your body, may the radiant company of angels come to meet you . . . May you never know anything of the horror of darkness . . . May the most foul Tempter with his mob fall back before you . . . at your coming with your escort of angels . . .²³

Of more frequent usage are the Compline and the various evening prayers which stem from it, in which we repeatedly find the sentiment expressed in "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit" or "Lord . . . shelter us under the shadow of your wings." The latter phrase is a request for protection from evil spirits among other things. Another prayer near the end of the Compline is also of interest here because it is in part a request for protection from the adversary, and we should keep in mind that elsewhere in connection with the Compline the Christian is reminded

that he may not survive the night. The first line is as follows:

"Visit, we beseech thee, O Lord our dwelling, and drive far from it all snares of the enemy." To say then that a prayer of commendation and request for protection is "appropriate to a Christian martyr" is quite correct, but clearly this is so because it is the common heritage of Christians and not peculiar to martyrs only, even though in literature it appears most often in the mouths of saints. The reason for the latter being so is self-evident: saints would be written about more often than ordinary men. Cross, after some comparisons with prayers by other figures in literature, comes to the conclusion, "His prayer, indeed, is selfish, though human. In contrast, the dying actions or words of saints . . . are often selfless in imitation of the supreme model."²⁴

Bloomfield, in an effort to support his reading of the prayer, puts great emphasis on the circumstances surrounding Byrhtnoth's death as is evident in the excerpt quoted where he speaks of "the brutal killing . . . by . . . a mass of heathens." Cross dismisses this comment correctly as "emotional writing" which is "out of place" in a critical assessment. He points out: "There is no implication of a 'mass of heathens' or even that Byrhtnoth's manner of death is especially brutal on this battlefield," in the phrase Ða hine heowon headene scealcas. He continues: "The first Wulfmaer is also swiðe forheawan . . . mid billum (114-115) in this battle, and at the Battle of Brunanburh the English themselves heowan the enemy mecum mylenscearpan (23-24), so it seems either that Ða hine heowon is a poetic exaggeration, or that the deed is a common reality."²⁵ It seems that we can safely assume the latter, since the phrase or a variable of it occurs fairly

frequently in connection with battles, without any connotation of especial brutality. Cross then examines the phrase heapene scealcas, in order to determine whether it has any special connotation of unbelievers, by comparing it with the other terms used to describe the vikings and concludes "Heapen here is another term for the enemy and, in view of this, and of the other words for the Scandinavians, heapen need have no further connotation in the poet's comment at Byrhtnoth's death."²⁶

What then is the point of Byrhtnoth's last speech? To say that the prayer does not fit in with the rest, that it stands as an outright contradiction to the spirit of the whole poem, is to say that the poet did not know his business or that it was added later. Both views are obviously unsatisfactory. It requires no detailed analysis to see that from the very beginning Byrhtnoth is developed as an ideal warrior chief. Beginning with the exhortation and his stinging response to the viking challenge he quickly rises to epic proportions when we see him in single combat. Here the heroic code is embodied by the leader. In the next sequence he is mortally wounded but once more he rises to the occasion, persevering to the very end in the best heroic tradition, when he tries to ward off one of the vikings who is moving in for the spoils. His arm is lopped off by another attacker, and realizing fully that the end is near he once more exhorts his followers. Then having done with this world he turns his eye to heaven and utters his prayer. Having won his glory in this world by his heroic defence he, being a Christian hero, focusses on what concerns him next, the afterlife, and expresses the appropriate Christian sentiments. We should observe that there is absolutely nothing in the entire prayer to suggest that Byrhtnoth is looking forward to his heavenly reward as a recompense for the battle he

has just fought, or that he understood the battle to be a so called just war in which he laid down his life for a Christian cause. The whole prayer scene, including the last stages of his final fight, captures in vividly dramatic terms the dual nature of the Anglo-Saxon outlook. E. B. Irving speaks of a "curiously detached interlude in the savage reality of the action" and says "as he [Byrhtnoth] speaks the last words, heathen warriors -- the devils of this world -- cut down his body. Soul and body, Christian and heathen, the next world and this, are placed in striking ironic contrast."²⁷ In speaking of the "devils of this world" Irving tends toward Bloomfield's interpretation where a parallel is seen between the vikings in the battle and the "shadows of hell" mentioned in the prayer, a parallel which when pursued leads to the dangerous conclusions I have discussed above. The contrast he points out is clearly there, but I would like to go further and suggest that the "opposition" is contained within the figure of Byrhtnoth himself.

HEROISM IN THE BATTLE OF MALDON

In the preceding pages I dealt at some length with the Christian elements in Maldon and showed that instead of having a contradiction between the pagan Anglo-Saxon ethos and the Christian one there is a perfectly tenable combination; a blending of the two traditions which allows the poet to present Byrhtnoth and his men as Christians who live up to the northern heroic code. There would not seem to be a conflict in the poet's mind; there certainly is no conflict in the poem. But in discussing the Christian dimension I only touched briefly on the relevant heroic qualities and made some assumptions about the quality of the heroism and the function of comitatus in the poem. I would therefore like to go to a discussion of the major heroic features of the poem. This will involve an analysis of the conduct of Byrhtnoth and his followers.

I want to go back at this point and look again briefly at "The War of Kings" episode in Genesis, a contemporary work inasmuch as it, like Maldon, is a product of Christian times, and reflect on what I have suggested could be the general features of the creative process which gave rise to it. I think there is an analogy here which, right or wrong, will bring out one of the distinctive general features of Maldon. The poet-translator of Genesis going along in a rather pedestrian manner intent on giving a faithful rendering of the story in the

vernacular, suddenly finds himself confronted by the incident relating the capture and rescue of Lot. Something obviously excites him in what is a rather brief and factual account. He seems to remember the old heroic poetry and senses something akin to it in this story for he suddenly changes pace and the reader is swept up by the dramatic account of Abraham's courageous behaviour. The episode is a challenge; the poet rises to the occasion and is not satisfied with a mere translation. He molds the material before him into a lively piece of poetry. Something of the same happens with the poet of Exodus, we may surmise. He too selects, modifies and expands his material in order to achieve the desired effect -- an epic narrative. I think it is possible and legitimate to think of the poetic process which gave rise to Maldon in a similar manner. The poet selects a contemporary historical event and shapes it into a magnificent poem. There was something in this historical situation that stimulated his imagination and aroused his poetic talents. It is important to observe that our poet does not deal with a well established hero such as Beowulf or Theodoric; instead we find a har hilderinc, an old warrior, and his equally unknown retainers fighting and dying in a local battle which historically was obviously a minor one and certainly not of national importance. There is no well established story or legend here grown famous over the years, but only a mediocre event. The point I wish to make, or rather re-emphasize since it has been suggested before, is that each of the three poems mentioned here have one essential feature in common: the success of each poem is almost totally dependent on bringing the material into the heroic context. Each of the poems is an attempt to express in one way or another the struggle against impossible odds, and the situation is fundamentally

The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The third is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The thirteenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The fourteenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The fifteenth is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The sixteenth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The seventeenth is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The eighteenth is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The nineteenth is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The twentieth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one. It is a stochastic system, and the stochasticity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time.

conceived of as a comitatus one. In the biblical poems this is less obvious because the poet can only go so far -- there must be some respect for verisimilitude because of the sacred nature of the source -- but as I have already shown the poet pushes it as far as he can within this limit. This contention which may appear to be nothing more than a truism about heroic poetry, or a tautology, obtains more point when we briefly consider another battle poem, The Battle of Brunanburh, roughly contemporary with Maldon.

Brunanburh is a good example of a poem written in the heroic form which nevertheless is not a heroic poem but rather a paean, a highly patriotic victory song. The story related in the poem is straightforward and simple, though incomplete in some details. It tells us that in the year 937 King Aethelstan and his brother Prince Eadmund won a victory over a combined force of Scots, Danes, and Britons. This coalition, led by King Constantine of Scotland and Anlaf of the Danes, was soundly defeated by the English forces. The poem records that no less than five young kings and seven earls of Anlaf alone were slain, as well as the son of Constantine and a host of other warriors:

Ne weard wael mare
on þis eiglande aefre gieta. (ll. 65-66)

Constantine we are told flees back to his native Scotland while the rest of the Irish-Norse army escapes by sea to Dublin.

Dobbie has accurately described the poem as, "an unrestrained song of triumph, in which the poet seems to know little, and care less, of the actual course of events, but gives full play to his feelings of exultation at the victory over a foreign foe."¹ This comment alone should prepare us for a marked difference between Brunanburh and Maldon,

because whatever else the latter may be it certainly is not "an unrestrained song of triumph," and the poet is very much concerned with the course of events. In style and diction Brunanburh follows the heroic tradition closely; it has the rigid alliterative structure and echoes the heroic formulas and epithets; Aethelstan is eorla dryhten and beorna beahgifa and Constantine is a har hilderinc; war is described as bilge-slehtes and gar mittinge; we find the familiar bord weal, the hraefn, earn and wulf; and the warriors are faege to gefeohte. But apart from the formal characteristics the situation is not treated as a heroic one. The bravery of Aethelstan and Eadmund is initially focussed upon, to be sure, but the conflict is not between them and individual opponents:

Bordweal clufon,
 heowan heap~~o~~linde hamora lafum
 eoforan eadweardes . . .
 Hettend crungon,
 Scotta leode and scipflotan
 faege feollan. (11.5-12)

Nor do they function as comitatus chiefs; their conduct in war is not a standard for their followers -- there are no followers except in generic terms such as West Saxons and hence there is no comitatus -- they are representative of England and the English cause.

J.B. Bessinger describes the poem as a "panegyric and chronicle"² and R.W.V. Elliot speaks of Brunanburh and other poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as "versified annals . . . using highly conventionalized diction,"³ and clearly, that is the kind of poem we have here. Brunanburh where it appears in the Chronicle dates itself specifically by the introductory adverb Her after the entry 937. It names the site as Brunanburh and not only names the defenders and victors but also names the enemy, both in generic terms such as Scotta leode

1891
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1891. The names are given in alphabetical order of their surnames. The names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1891 are as follows: [illegible text]

[illegible text]

and Norþmen and specifically in the case of Constantine and Anlaf. Keeping these things in mind we can easily see that the entire treatment of a contemporary historical event in Maldon is completely different. Any historical or topographical identifications, and there are few to begin with, appear to be quite incidental. Yet Maldon has been considered the most accurate and authentic record of the battle extant.⁴ But however that may be, it is clearly much more than a historical record, because the poem tells us much that would be totally irrelevant if not confusing in a coronicle. The actual events at Maldon in 991 would seem to be only the occasion which gave rise to a great poem.

The manner of presentation in Maldon again is entirely different. The overall theme is clearly a variant of the defence of a narrow place against impossible odds, and it is expressed through an account of individual deeds and personal conduct as measured against the pattern and example set by Byrhtnoth, the central hero for the first half of the poem. If the poem is "animated by the spirit of English patriotism"⁵ as Dobbie claims, then that spirit is totally and effectively sublimated into a presentation of individual bravery. There is no overt English cause or even an English army; what we do find is a local petty chief with his household troops and a local army. True, the chief is the ealdorman of Essex and the fyrd is the militia of Essex, but these particulars receive no emphasis other than as a means of identification. Furthermore, the account of the battle is particular and not general; there is a wealth of detail as to what happens precisely and in what order events took place with specific references as to who did what, and what the ancestries are of the respective warriors that come into our view. As Gordon has already pointed out there is little ornamenta-

tion. The familiar features of the kenning and parallelism are not absent, but they are used for "emphasis rather than ornament."⁶

The verse of Maldon accordingly lacks the richness of Beowulf or of Cynewulf's poetry, but it is swifter, more forcible, and no less suitable for its purpose than the technically more 'correct' verse of Beowulf. The theme of Byrhtnoth and his faithful retainers had no need of ornament.

There is a directness of language, a sense of urgency, which is unequalled anywhere except perhaps in Finnsburg. Finally there is a marked restraint in the poet's account which would suggest among other things that the poet was deeply moved by the events he described.

These various features, the vivid and minute details, briefly enumerated here, rather than a historical basis have resulted in the opinion that the poem was composed shortly after the battle and some suppose by an eyewitness. Gordon believes that it "was composed soon after the battle," when the "memory of all that happened was still fresh, and the heroism of individual deeds and speeches still seemed of primary importance."⁸ Dobbie agrees and finds it likely that the poet was an eyewitness.⁹ Laborde's whole thesis¹⁰ is pretty well based on the hypothesis that the poem is the most important historical record, and even Irving, who is much more interested in the poem as such, accepts Laborde's thesis and considers the poem "almost a news story" and indeed as a "fragment of medieval journalism."¹¹ If nothing else these various comments are clear evidence of the compelling sense of reality which the poem evokes, but as Bessinger points out in his article "Maldon and the Olafsdrapa", "the fresh urgency of the narrative, if rendered in traditional heroic style and founded on hearsay (whether once removed or handed on for years) proves that the poem is skillfully contrived, not that it is an accurate report."¹² He continues with a detailed

analysis of the "facts" on which the historical interpretations rest and makes a very good case that perhaps some of the seemingly realistic detail was included for rhetorical reasons rather than historical ones.

He concludes his argument with the observation:

These two (Maldon and the Olafsdrapa) poems are of the kind of poetry that deals with history without caring about history. Neither their general credibility nor their use of concrete detail (which with corroborating or conflicting historical evidence would seem equally convincing within the poems as they stand) need affect our estimate of their poetic value. Their excellence as poems is not an illusion, for it can be documented in other ways What is profoundly historical about the two poems is their . . . antiphonal presentation of the heroic German ethos. For it is the affirmative Maldon, in the person of the enemy messenger, which says with dreadful plausibility before the slaughter begins "Ne purfe we us spillan" -- "We need not spend and destroy ourselves." It is the despairing Hallfreth who answers . . . for the ethos at large, "Fraegr's til sliks at segja sidr" -- It is glorious to speak of such a deed in later times."¹³

The "dreadful plausibility" is only such from our point of view; in terms of the heroic context there is no choice. Byrhtnoth and his men have been challenged and they must answer the challenge, as they do, regardless of their lives. Life for the sake of here living has a very low price among heroic people, as Wiglaf so pointedly reminds the retainers,

"Deað bið sella
eorla gehwylcum þonne edwitlif!" (Beowulf, ll. 2890-2891)

and Byrhtnoth speaks for all and for the whole ethos when he hurls his own challenge across the water in reply to the Viking's proffered bribe. Although Byrhtnoth's reply differs in content from Hallfreth's answer, the spirit is clearly the same, particularly when we take into consideration Byrhtnoth's later exhortation:

baed þaet hyssa gehwylc ha gode to wige
þe on Denom wolde dom gefeohtan. (ll. 128-129)

The point made here captures in a nutshell the whole spirit which in-

forms the poem and according to which Byrhtnoth and his men act and think.

Maldon then, though a historical poem, is not historical in the narrow sense that Brunanburh is, but uses history and is primarily concerned with individuals in a heroic situation. The outstanding one among them is, of course, Byrhtnoth whose presence dominates the first half of the poem, and even in the second half, like the retainers, we cannot forget him. His presence is felt in the very first line that we have, where the first crucial word is Het. Though himself AÆpel-redes begn, he is chief here and in command: his followers obey unquestioningly. Byrhtnoth's presence is felt all along the front. The incident with the unnamed youth at the beginning is testimony of Byrhtnoth's full control and no-nonsense attitude. We find him stationing himself þær him leofost waes / þær he his heordwerod holdost wiste (ll. 23-24), but he continually exhorts all of his men and directs them with obvious experience. This is no rookie, but an experienced war-hardened warrior. When the fighting begins in earnest after the Vikings have crossed, it is Byrhtnoth who holds the stage, fighting foremost in the front line surrounded by those young warriors whom he patronizes, and his valour is felt to the dismay of the enemy.

The first pointed example of Byrhtnoth's heroic stature is his answer to the Viking challenge. The messenger's speech is a masterpiece of insult designed to intimidate the Essex men. It is arrogant and contemptuous in tone and demands by its very quality a heroic response. The messenger speaks on beot trying to scare the English into buying them off with tribute. Following this initial threat he smoothly appeals to what we would consider common sense when he says Ne þurfe we us spillan

gif ge spedap to pam (l. 34). The whole challenge is directed at Byrhtnoth pe her ricast eart (l. 36), and there is cunning in the remark because there is an appeal to Byrhtnoth's sense of responsibility implicit in it. Instead of being intimidated, however, or misled by the clever appeal to common sense and princely duty, Byrhtnoth is justly infuriated; he is yrre and anraed (ll. 44). Though outnumbered, the men of Essex are not craven or cowed. Byrhtnoth's reply is ironic when he specifies that the Vikings will be paid as they demand, but the currency will be battle spears and swords:

Hi willað eow to gafole garas syllan,
aettrenne ord and ealde swurd
ða heregeatu þe eow aet hilde ne deah. (ll. 46-48)

The irony is compounded by the use of the word heregeatu, which refers to a customary payment in weapons to a lord, and by saying that this war gear will profit the seafarers little because it will be handed over point first. Byrhtnoth then clarifies his position and intention as the guardian of Aethelred's domain; they will fight and defend what is theirs and the heathen Vikings must fall. He then mocks the messenger's address by mimicking the patronizing tone:

To heanlic me þinceð
þaet ge mid urum sceattum to scype gangon
unbefohtene, nu ge þus feor hider
on urne eard in becomon. (ll. 55-58)

The sarcasm of these lines is self-evident, and enforces the impression that Byrhtnoth will stand resolute under any conditions. It is not because he is under any illusion of easy victory that Byrhtnoth answers with such contempt and scorn, nor is he unnecessarily committing his followers to what could be and does become a hopeless cause. The code demands this kind of attitude, this defiance, and no doubt the sentiment

The first of the two main parts of the book is devoted to a general theory of the structure of the human mind. The second part is devoted to a detailed study of the various faculties of the human mind, and to the application of the general theory to the study of the various faculties.

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would be understood and perhaps even respected by his opponents. The last three lines of the speech are ample proof that Byrhtnoth does not consider the outcome a foregone conclusion in favour of the English even when he is at this time in a strategically strong position:

Ne sceole ge swa softe sinc gegangan;
us sceal ord and ecg aer geseman,
grimm gudeplega, aer we gofol syllon. (ll. 59-61)

The challenge demanded a heroic response and Byrhtnoth as leader of the comitatus gives it readily, and thereby expresses the sentiment of those at the battle. That Byrhtnoth does speak for all is clear from his opening remark "Gehyrst þu, saelida, hwaet þis fole seged?" which implies a positive reaction on their part to the Viking's message. The reply enforces an expectant tension which the beginning of the poem has already built up and which finds its climax in the battle; the pattern which is dramatically established here and actualized in the course of the poem is that words must be validated by deeds!

This then is the first of what have been called the two temptations which Byrhtnoth faces. The second one consists of the Viking request to be allowed to cross to the other side of the river so that a full scale battle may be waged. The Vikings finding the defence of the causeway very resolute are described to react in the following manner:

Ongunnon lytegian þa laede gystas,
baedon þaet hi upgang agan moston,
ofer þone ford faran, feþan laedan. (ll. 86-88)

Byrhtnoth grants their request:

Ða se eorl ongan for his ofermode
alyfan landes to fela laþere deode; (ll. 89-90)

These two lines are undoubtedly the most often discussed by scholars of Maldon and are the central controversy in any discussion of the poem as

a statement of heroic principles. On the one hand there are those who justify Byrhtnoth's action, and claim that the word *ofermod* must be translated as "great courage" in conformity with the heroic attitude, while on the other there are critics who speak of "excessive pride" and a tragic error by which Byrhtnoth jeopardizes his duty to the king and commits his followers to inevitable death.¹⁴

Tolkien's discussion of this problem in his "The Homecoming of Byrhtnoth, Beorhthelm's Son" is undoubtedly the most complete and eloquent argument of those who speak of Byrhtnoth's action as an error in judgement. For Tolkien, who interprets *ofermode* as "overmastering pride", Byrhtnoth is in error because he places his own personal glory above his responsibility to his men and his king:

In *Beowulf* we have only a legend of "excess" in a chief. The case of Beorhtnoth is still more pointed even as a story; but it is also drawn from real life by a contemporary author. Here we have Hygelac behaving like young Beowulf: making a "sporting fight" on level terms; but at other people's expense. In his situation he was not a subordinate, but the authority to be obeyed on the spot; and he was responsible for all the men under him, not to throw away their lives except with one object, the defence of realm from an implacable foe. He says himself, that it is his purpose to defend the realm of Aethelred, the people, and the land (52-3). It was heroic for him and his men to fight, to annihilation if necessary, in the attempt to destroy or hold off invaders. It was wholly unfitting that he should treat a desperate battle with this sole object as a sporting match, to the ruin of his purpose and duty.¹⁵

The central difficulty with this assessment is that it contradicts the heroic quality of the rest of the poem. Unless we are prepared to say that the poem is essentially not heroic the criticism is not valid, because accepting it we ask the reader to despise Byrhtnoth's foolishness and admire his heroic conduct at one and the same time. I find it hard to accept that a poet as perceptive of heroic faith as the poet of *Maldon*, one who presents a consistently heroic

picture, would involve himself in this kind of contradiction. One could argue, and Tolkien clearly tends in this direction in saying that the story is "drawn from real life," that the poet is constrained by historical facts, but we cannot prove this and besides it would not do away with the inconsistency.

Ker's reading of the poem, which is basically no less severe or less pejorative toward Byrhtnoth than Tolkien's, also implies this inconsistency. On the one hand Ker states that the poem "has uttered the spirit and essence of northern heroic literature in . . . its invincible profession of heroic faith"¹⁶ but on the other, speaking of Byrhtnoth's decision to let the Vikings cross, over he says:

This unnecessary magnanimity has for the battle of Maldon the effect of Roland's refusal to sound the horn at the battle of Roncevalles; it is the tragic error or transgression of limit that brings down the crash and ruin at the end of the day.¹⁷

The solution to the problem does not lie in a favourable translation of ofermod, favourable to Byrhtnoth's heroic stature, that is. Even though Britton's philological argument is a good possibility,¹⁸ it is only part of the solution, since we are still left with the poet's comment that Byrhtnoth granted landes to fela, a phrase which some of the critics conveniently overlook. But I do not think it is necessary to understand it as an unqualified criticism on the poet's part which is how Tolkien sees it: "To fela means in Old English idiom that no ground at all should have been conceded."¹⁹ Unquestionably the phrase indicates that the poet considered Byrhtnoth's action "wrong," but would Byrhtnoth have been any less wrong if he had chosen the alternative? I want to suggest that Byrhtnoth is in the classical heroic situation of having to choose between two alternatives both of which are wrong.

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If he chooses the one he will violate his code of honour and if he chooses the other he will compromise the trust that has been placed in him. Time and again we find this dilemma at the center of the heroic situation, in the Anglo-Saxon tradition as well as in the parallel Germanic ones. It is essentially the same dilemma which faces Hengest in the Finnsburg Episode in Beowulf, as I pointed out earlier.²⁰ It is also Beowulf's in deciding whether or not to go against the dragon; if he takes on the dragon his people will be left leaderless yet if he does not he will compromise his honour. We find it again in the Niflung lays where both Gunnar and Brynhild must kill the one they love or violate the code of honour, which is also Hildebrand's dilemma.²¹ In each case the poet contrives by the circumstances of plot to place his hero in a situation in which he is forced to choose one of two courses both of which are often evil. It is this which gives rise to the central tragic element of northern literature. In nearly every case the hero must like Hildebrand follow the tenets of the heroic code. It is precisely what Byrhtnoth must and does do, and so, to speak of error of judgement or something of that ilk is beside the point; the hero must be heroic -- the code cannot be gainsaid.

This interpretation also gives more point to the dramatic action of the retainers who after Byrhtnoth has fallen step forward one by one to make their boasts and go forward in battle to meet certain death. They, too, are faced with a terrible choice; they must avenge their chief and die in the attempt or flee. The possibility of flight is not merely a theoretical one because they have the example of Godric and Godwic and the others that do flee. It is a possibility that is constantly before them as their various speeches show. The men in other

The first of these is the fact that the...
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The thirty-first is the fact that the...
The thirty-second is the fact that the...
The thirty-third is the fact that the...
The thirty-fourth is the fact that the...
The thirty-fifth is the fact that the...
The thirty-sixth is the fact that the...
The thirty-seventh is the fact that the...
The thirty-eighth is the fact that the...
The thirty-ninth is the fact that the...
The fortieth is the fact that the...
The forty-first is the fact that the...
The forty-second is the fact that the...
The forty-third is the fact that the...
The forty-fourth is the fact that the...
The forty-fifth is the fact that the...
The forty-sixth is the fact that the...
The forty-seventh is the fact that the...
The forty-eighth is the fact that the...
The forty-ninth is the fact that the...
The fiftieth is the fact that the...

words, are not heroic machines but flesh and blood individuals burdened by a heavy choice, and in following the demands of the heroic code they rise to epic proportions.

But although they must each make their choice they do not stand alone; the social dimension of the heroism is displayed in their mutual encouragement and exhortation. Irving's comment is quite to the point:

But while the choice must be an individual one, heroism in Maldon still tends to be social and cooperative. Byrhtnoth himself in his life and death, is the great example to his men, but there is also a clear pattern of mutual encouragement and example among the retainers themselves. The word byldan, literally 'to make bold,' carries some of its etymological meaning in its frequent occurrences in the poem; men are made bold by others, both by what they say and by what they do.²²

AElfwine's boast-speech is typical in this regard as well as being representative of the spirit of every man there:

"Gemunan þa mæla þe we oft aet meodo spræcon,
 þonne we on bence beot ahofen
 hæled on halle, ymbe heard gewinn;
 nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy.
 Ic wille mine æþelo eallum gecypan,
 þæt ic waes on Myrcon miccles cynnes;
 waes min eald faeder Ealhelm haten,
 wis ealdorman, woruldgesaelig.
 Ne sceolon me on þære þeode þegenas aetwitan
 þæt ic of disse fyrde feran wille,
 eard gesecan, nu min ealdor ligep
 forheawan aet hilde. me is þæt hearne maest;
 he waes ægþer min mæg and min hlaford."
 (ll. 212-224)

His speech reminds one forcibly of the words spoken by Wiglaf (Beowulf, ll. 2633-2660), urging his companions to remember their vows at the mead bench and to go and help Beowulf now that their generous chief is in such dire need. AElfwine's speech like Wiglaf's instantly recalls the whole world of the comitatus and the hero's place in it, but here the words find enthusiastic response unlike Wiglaf's.

Beginning with AElfwine's speech the style and tone of the poem

begin to have more of the traditional epic quality. There is an elevation but of action as well as words; the heroes rise to the occasion before them. In the conduct of the retainers the consistent pattern of words being validated by deeds comes strongly to the fore. Every man makes good his boast, and the rigid conventionality of their speeches is the achievement of these warriors. The worn formulas of epic diction now receive new life when they become real and are incarnated in the men fighting the battle. These heroes actually rise to the heights of the ideals expressed in the conventional phrases.

AElfwine's laconic statement Mu maeg cunnian hwa cene sy (l. 215) is one of the key lines in the poem. This is their chance to put not only their courage but the very meaning of their lives to the test. All the close friendship ties of the beer hall, all the boasting talks on the mead benches are without value and significance if the challenge before them now cannot be met. The true fellowship exists here on the field, not in the hall. "The naked sinews of loyalty, stripped of the pageantry of the peacetime court, are exposed here; the test is met on a blasted heath."²³ The response to the heroic code is not automatic for anyone here; it demands the ascendancy of the spirit over the weakness of the body and this is expressed nowhere more clearly than in the oft quoted lines of Byrhtwold:

Hige sceal þe heardra, heorte þe cenre,
mod sceal þe mare, þe ure maegen lytlað. (ll. 312-313)

This is the spirit that lies at the basis of Maldon.

CONCLUSION

When we first read of the existence of Anglo-Saxon poetry in the seventh century in Bede's account of Caedmon,¹ we are actually taking note not of the earliest form of this poetry, but of a later Christian tradition which developed out of an earlier well-established pagan one. Even though in the case of Anglo-Saxon poetry we do not have and cannot have any record of it before the Christian missionaries introduced the art of reading and writing, and indeed, as Magoun observes, "we have no poetical text which can in exactly the form preserved be thought of as having been put together very early at all,"² we nevertheless know that there was a long oral tradition before Caedmon's time going as far back as the Continental homeland and a common Germanic source.³ In this early tradition are celebrated the legendary and historical figures of the Heroic Age and the exciting adventures which are their legacy. It portrays a way of life and an attitude to life which is unique, different from any that we know. To this early tradition in Anglo-Saxon England belong such poems as Beowulf, Finnsburg and Waldere, poems which are fundamentally pagan in character and informed by the Northern heroic spirit.

This study has attempted to demonstrate that The Battle of Maldon, which comes over three hundred years after Caedmon's Hymn, and

indeed, at the end of the Anglo-Saxon era has close affinities with the poems of the early tradition inasmuch as it is a return to and working out of the fundamental heroic concepts as originally formulated. This in spite of being composed during Christian times and even partaking of the Christian culture. I have tried to demonstrate, mainly by illustration and analysis of representative pieces, that the essential ingredient of the heroic mode is the comitatus, the comitatus being understood as that concept which sums up the peculiar social organization and everything associated with heroic life, and that this essential element is preserved in and through the tradition right up to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and the time of Maldon. Because the comitatus is so fundamental to the Anglo-Saxon way of life, at least initially -- so deeply ingrained in the racial mind, and because of the, for lack of a better term, fossilized nature of the poetic vocabulary itself, the comitatus concept and the concomitant heroic principles survive. They more than survive; they are the informing principles of even the formally Christian poetry. So that when Maldon is composed the comitatus concept is still very much alive and a vital part of the poetic tradition, despite the fact that we now find ourselves in Christian Anglo-Saxon England at a time when the interest in the old heroic subjects, such as the tales about Attila, Ermanaric, and Finn, has waned. What this presupposes, among other things, is a blending of the pagan and Christian cultures, a combination of traditions which has been demonstrated in the preceeding pages. I think I have shown, that although the basic concepts of comitatus and Christianity may theoretically be antithetical this is not so in practice. There is, in other words, no necessity to either claim Maldon as purely heroic and dismiss the Christian elements as irrelevant

obtrusions, or, on the other hand, to assert that the poem is Christian to the point of claiming Byrhtnoth as a saint and the whole poem as an artistic presentation of the Augustinian doctrine of charity, and denying its heroic spirit altogether. I have therefore tried to prove that Maldon is a highly successful fusion; both traditions are integrated to produce an aesthetic and organic whole. Maldon reflects the sincere faith of Byrhtnoth, and to some extent of his men, and is at the same time the crowning achievement in England of a long tradition of Germanic heroic poetry. Gordon in his remarks on the composition and art of the poem has put it very well:

The Battle of Maldon does not suffer by comparison with other monuments of Germanic heroic literature, even with the noblest of the Norse sagas and Edda poems.⁴

And his final comment is:

Maldon must also be conceded the proud position of being the greatest battle-poem in the English language -- or perhaps the only battle-poem in our language that can justly be called great; and it has achieved greatness through being primarily not a poem of battle, but a poem of heroism.⁵

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I:

- ¹Tacitus on Britain and Germany, tr., H. Mattingly.
- ²"They choose their kings for their noble birth." Tacitus, 106.
- ³Ibid., 111.
- ⁴Ibid., 106.
- ⁵Ibid., 111-112.
- ⁶Ibid., 112.
- ⁷Ibid., 112-113.
- ⁸Ibid., 111.
- ⁹Ibid., 110.
- ¹⁰Ibid., 111.
- ¹¹Ibid., 113.
- ¹²Ibid., 113.
- ¹³Ibid., 113.
- ¹⁴Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, 155.
- ¹⁵Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England.
- ¹⁶Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England.
- ¹⁷Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society.
- ¹⁸Chadwick, The Heroic Age, 442.
- ¹⁹Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, 210.
- ²⁰See page 10 below for a further clarification of the distinction made here.
- ²¹Hodgkin, A History of the Anglo-Saxons, 211.
- ²²Having clarified how the term comitatus will be used, and not wanting to give it any undue stress, I shall not underline it from this point on.

Chapter II:

¹ Dickins, Runic and Heroic Poems, 78-85. Citations from the Hildebrandeslied will be from this edition.

² Bostock, Old High German Literature. In ch. IV Bostock makes a careful and detailed analysis of the text of the entire poem in the course of which he reviews and evaluates all previous assessments.

³ See Bostock, Old high German Literature, 33ff., for a brief but clear discussion of the limitations of these various approaches.

⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁵ Baesecke, Das Hildebrandlied, 24.

⁶ Following Baesecke's suggestion, I am assuming gaps in the fragment, one of which occurs between ll. 57 and 58 and makes Hildebrand's speech end with the hope mentioned.

⁷ Baesecke, Das Hildebrandlied, 25-26.

⁸ Ibid., 25.

⁹ Ibid., 26.

¹⁰ Ibid., 26. Baesecke points out that calling another warrior arga made one liable either to fight a duel or pay a fine of ten solidos.

¹¹ Ibid., 32.

¹² All citations from and references to texts of the Anglo-Saxon poems are from The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 vols., edited by Krapp and Dobbie.

¹³ Dickins, Runic and Heroic Poems, 44.

¹⁴ Lawrence, Beowulf, 115.

¹⁵ See Baesecke's observation quoted on p. 14 above, and also my further discussion complete with examples on pp. 88-89 below.

¹⁶ Lawrence, Beowulf, 116.

¹⁷ Since Finn is Hnaef's brother-in-law, being married to Hildeburh, Hnaef's sister, he might be absent from the actual battle because of the bond of kinship.

¹⁸ See my discussion and examples on pp. 88-89 below.

Chapter III:

¹"Beowulf, usually accounted primarily heroic and epic, is in its ultimate aim elegiac." Gordon, Maldon, 24. See also his note 1 on the same page.

²Crossley-Holland and Mitchell, Maldon, 17.

³The destructive power described in the line, Ypde swa pisne eardgeard aelda scyppend (l. 85), can hardly be identified with the concept of God the Father, even though aelda scyppend clearly refers to the Christian God.

⁴See Krapp and Dobbie's Introduction to Poetic Records, III, xxxvii-xxxix, for a summary of the interpretations which conceive of a dialogue structure.

⁵Lawrence, "The Wanderer and The Seafarer", JEGP, IV, 463ff.

⁶Ibid., 460.

⁷Legouis and Cazamian, A History of English Literature, 27.

⁸Krapp and Dobbie, Poetic Records, III, xxxix.

⁹See my discussion of the exile's position in the Northern heroic context on pp. 34-35 above.

Chapter IV:

¹"Such seemeth to me, my Lord, the present life of men here in earth (for the comparison of our uncertain time to live), as if a sparrow should come to the house and very swiftly flit through; which entereth in at one window and straightway passeth out through another, while you sit at dinner with your captains and servants in wintertime; the parlour being then made warm with the fire kindled in the midst thereof, but all places abroad being troubled with raging tempests of winter rain and snow. Right for the time it be within the house, it feeleth no smart of the winter storm, but after a very short space of fair weather that lasteth but for a moment, it soon passeth again from winter to winter and escapeth your sight. So the life of man here appeareth for a little season, but what followeth or what hath gone before, that surely we know not. Wherefore if this new learning hath brought us any better surety, methink it is worthy to be followed." Bede, Opera Historica, I, 283-285.

²Cefi's speech which preceeds that of the other noble, is equally illustrative: "May it like your highness to prove what manner of doctrine this is which is now being preached unto us; but thus much I must surely avouch unto you, which I have certainly learned, that the religion which unto this day we have observed hath no virtue or advantage in it at all: for none of your subjects hath set himself more earnestly

1894

1. The first of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the United States since the year 1789.

2. The second of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Vice President of the United States since the year 1789.

3. The third of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives since the year 1789.

4. The fourth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Chief Justice of the United States since the year 1789.

5. The fifth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the United States since the year 1789.

6. The sixth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Treasurer of the United States since the year 1789.

7. The seventh of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Attorney General of the United States since the year 1789.

8. The eighth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Navy since the year 1789.

9. The ninth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the War since the year 1789.

10. The tenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Interior since the year 1789.

11. The eleventh of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Agriculture since the year 1789.

12. The twelfth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Commerce since the year 1789.

13. The thirteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Education since the year 1789.

14. The fourteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Health since the year 1789.

15. The fifteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Labor since the year 1789.

16. The sixteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Finance since the year 1789.

17. The seventeenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Justice since the year 1789.

18. The eighteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the State since the year 1789.

19. The nineteenth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the War since the year 1789.

20. The twentieth of the following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Secretary of the Navy since the year 1789.

to the worship of our gods than I; and yet, notwithstanding, there are many of them which receive from you more ample benefits than I, and 'higher dignities than I, and better prosper in all they take in hand to do or seek to get than I. If now the gods could aught have done, they would rather have holpen me, who have been careful to serve them more zealously. Wherefore it remaineth that, if you shall find after good examination that these things which now be newly preached to us be better and of more power, then without longer delay we hasten to receive them." Bede, Opera Historica, I, 283.

³See my discussion of the "War of Kings" episode on pp. 54-56, and also note 17 below.

⁴Magoun, "Oral-Formulaic Character", An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, 190.

⁵Ibid., 191.

⁶Ibid., 194.

⁷It should be pointed out that Magoun has chosen passages which are less likely to be formulaic than some other passages. He makes this clear when he says, for example, that he has chosen the lines from Beowulf, "because they deal with highly specialized thematic material not represented elsewhere in the poetry, for the presentation of which in verse one might suppose that a poet would need to create his own language if ever he would have to do so." (194) The selection from Christ and Satan again, is chosen because it would be "hard to find a more 'Christian' passage." In other words, it is material which we would expect to be as far removed from the traditional language as possible.

⁸Ibid., 195.

⁹Ibid., 204.

¹⁰Gavin Bone died in 1942, at which time his essay was incomplete and unrevised. Magoun's article, cited above, did not come out till 1953, when it appeared in Speculum, XXVIII (1953), 446-467, and the work of Parry and Lord, apart from earlier articles by Parry, does not seem to have become well-known until after Lord submitted his Ph.D. thesis at Harvard in 1949. In the years that followed the oral-formulaic theory became better known.

¹¹Bone, Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Poetry.

¹²Ibid., 14.

¹³Ibid., 14.

¹⁴Magoun, "Oral-Formulaic Character", 206. Following this quotation he lists a number of works including, Andreas, Exodus and Judith.

¹⁵ Ibid., 208.

¹⁶ Bone, Anglo-Saxon Poetry, 25.

¹⁷ Magoun observes, "Oral-Formulaic Character", 207-208, that, "Expression of general conceptions of theology, dogma, and Christian doctrine is notably rare in the Christian songs, as it is in Beowulf, where action predominates, and even in that most beautiful song of meditation or devotion, The Dream of the Rood. This lack is surely due neither to mere accident nor to ignorance or indifference, but to a lack of formulas capable of adaption to such ideas."

¹⁸ See my discussion of Wiglaf's conduct on pp. 26-28 above where I cite his speeches and comment on them.

Chapter V:

¹ Ker, Epic and Romance.

² Gordon, Maldon.

³ Huppe, Doctrine and Poetry, v.

⁴ Bloomfield, "Patristics", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter 1962), 37.

⁵ Ibid., 37.

⁶ Ibid., 37.

⁷ Ibid., 36.

⁸ B. Raffel expressed these views in a conversation with the writer on February 22, 1966.

⁹ Legouis speaking of the Caedmonian poems for example, says: "If, for a moment, these Anglo-Saxon poems are not read indulgently, if we cease to make allowances for them, almost as we do for the sketches of children and savage peoples, but, like some critics over-praise them, the heavy pompousness of the paraphrase at once becomes evident." A History of English Literature, 39.

¹⁰ Crossley-Holland and Mitchell, Maldon, 18-19. The Benty Grange helmet, which is displayed on the jacket of their book, is a seventh-century helmet found at Benty Grange in Derbyshire. What remains of the helmet is a frame work of iron bands, the horn plates which filled the spaces in between having perished. The helmet is crowned by the figure of a boar, a common symbol of the pagan North, while the nose-guard bears an inlaid silver cross, thus giving a striking example of the mixture of the pagan and Christian traditions.

¹¹ Ibid., 19.

- ¹²Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, 237.
- ¹³Bloomfield, "Patristics", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter, 1962), 38.
- ¹⁴Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, 237.
- ¹⁵Cross, "Oswald and Byrhtnoth", English Studies, XLVI (April, 1965), 106.
- ¹⁶Bloomfield, "Patristics", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter, 1962), 38.
- ¹⁷Cross, "Oswald and Byrhtnoth", English Studies, XLVI (April, 1965), 99.
- ¹⁸Whitelock, The Beginning of English Society, 27.
- ¹⁹Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, 237.
- ²⁰Ibid., 237.
- ²¹Bloomfield, "Patristics", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter, 1962), 38.
- ²²Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, 237-238.
- ²³This is part of one of the prayers said during the rite of Extremunction.
- ²⁴Cross, "Oswald and Byrhtnoth", English Studies, XLVI (April, 1965), 106.
- ²⁵Ibid., 106.
- ²⁶Ibid., 109.
- ²⁷Irving, "Heroic Style", Studies in Philology, LVIII (July, 1961), 463.

Chapter VI:

- ¹Dobbie, Poetic Records, VI, xl.
- ²Bessinger, "Maldon and the Olafsdrapa", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter, 1962), 26.
- ³Elliott, "Byrhtnoth and Hildebrand", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter, 1962), 55-56.
- ⁴Labourde, Byrhtnoth and Maldon; Gordon, Maldon; Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England; Dobbie, Poetic Records, VI; and Bowra, Heroic Poetry.

⁵Dobbie, Poetic Records, VI, xl.

⁶Gordon, Maldon, 27.

⁷Ibid., 28.

⁸Ibid., 21.

⁹Dobbie, Poetic Records, VI, xl.

¹⁰Laborde, Byrhtnoth and Maldon.

¹¹Irving, "Heroic Style", Studies in Philology, LVIII (July 1961), 458.

¹²Bessinger, "Maldon and the Olafsdrapa", Comparative Literature, XIV (Winter 1962), 25.

¹³Ibid., 35.

¹⁴Those who justify Byrhtnoth's action are, among others: Britton, in a letter to ILS, Feb. 27, 1953, p. 137; Irving, "Heroic Style"; and Elliott, "Byrhtnoth and Hildebrand". Among those who feel Byrhtnoth blameworthy are: Tolkien, "The Homecoming of Byrhtnoth"; Ker, Epic and Romance; Cross, "Oswald and Byrhtnoth"; and Gordon, Maldon.

¹⁵Tolkien, "The Homecoming of Byrhtnoth", Essays and Studies, VI (1953), 15.

¹⁶Ker, Epic and Romance, 57.

¹⁷Ibid., 54.

¹⁸Britton, the meaning of the word ofermod discussed in a letter to ILS, Feb. 27, 1953, p. 137.

¹⁹Tolkien, "The Homecoming of Byrhtnoth", Essays and Studies, VI (1953), 15.

²⁰See my discussion of this problem on pp. 22-25 above.

²¹Bertha Philpotts in a penetrating discussion of Old Norse Poetry in her book Edda and Saga (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1913), points out that invariably the key to a character's action in the heroic lays is in his being placed somehow, by the circumstances of the plot, in a situation in which he is forced to make a choice often between alternatives which are both evil. I am indebted to Trevor McNeely for pointing this out to me. See also Baesecke's comment quoted on p. 16 above.

²²Irving, "Heroic Style", Studies in Philology, LVIII (July 1961), 465.

²²Ibid., 466.

Chapter VII:

¹Bede, Opera Historica, II, Bk. IV, ch. XXIV.

²Magoun, "Oral-Formulaic Character", An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, 193.

³See in particular Chadwick, The Heroic Age.

⁴Gordon, Maldon, 26.

⁵Ibid., 29-30.

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The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem. It is shown that the problem is well-posed and that the solution exists and is unique. The second part of the paper is devoted to the construction of the solution. It is shown that the solution can be constructed by the method of successive approximations. The third part of the paper is devoted to the numerical solution of the problem. It is shown that the numerical solution can be obtained by the method of finite differences. The fourth part of the paper is devoted to the stability of the solution. It is shown that the solution is stable with respect to the initial data. The fifth part of the paper is devoted to the convergence of the solution. It is shown that the solution converges to the exact solution as the number of steps increases. The sixth part of the paper is devoted to the error analysis. It is shown that the error is of the order of $O(h^2)$. The seventh part of the paper is devoted to the conclusion. It is shown that the problem is well-posed and that the solution exists and is unique. The eighth part of the paper is devoted to the appendix. It contains the proof of the lemmas used in the paper. The ninth part of the paper is devoted to the bibliography. It contains the list of references. The tenth part of the paper is devoted to the index. It contains the list of subjects and the corresponding page numbers.

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